DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 140 672 FL 008 674

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TITLE	Papers on Language and Context. Working Papers of the Language Behavior Research Laboratory, No. 46.
INSTITUTION	California Univ., Berkeley. Language and Behavior Research Lab.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Mental Health (DHEW), Rockville, Md.
PUB DATE	76
GRANT	MH-25703
NOTE	149p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$7.35 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Child Language; Communication (Thought Transfer); *Communication Skills; *Context Clues; Discourse Analysis; Language Attitudes; Language Development; Language Skills; Language Styles; *Language Variation; Semantics; *Sociolinguistics; *Speech Communication
IDENTIFIERS	*Code Switching (Language); Ethnography

ABSTRACT

This issue includes four papers: (1) "Context in Children's Speech," by Jenny Cock-Gumperz and John J. Gumperz, demonstrates how context is used as a framing device for semantic interpretation of messages. It is suggested that context is not simply background information but part of the total message, entering into the information communicated, and unavailable outside linguistic and semantic communication. (2) "Socio-Ecological Constraints on Children's Communicative Strategies," by Jenny Cook-Gumperz and William A. Corsaro, expands the notion of context to the entire social-physical setting. The study's setting was a nursery school, in which different locations take on a specific social character and enter into children's choices of communicative strategies. (3) "The Sociolinguistic Significance of Conversational Code-Switching," by John J. Gumperz, treats code-switching as a communicative phenomenon, in which speakers build on others' knowledge of alternative grammatical systems, and the social assumptions these imply, to generate indirect conversational inferences. (4) "Social Network and Language Shift," by John J. Gumperz, reports on an ethnographic study which seeks to provide insights into the social and linguistic causes of language shift by intensive analysis of communication in face-to-face groups. (CHK)

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ED140672

Working Papers of the
Language Behavior Research Laboratory
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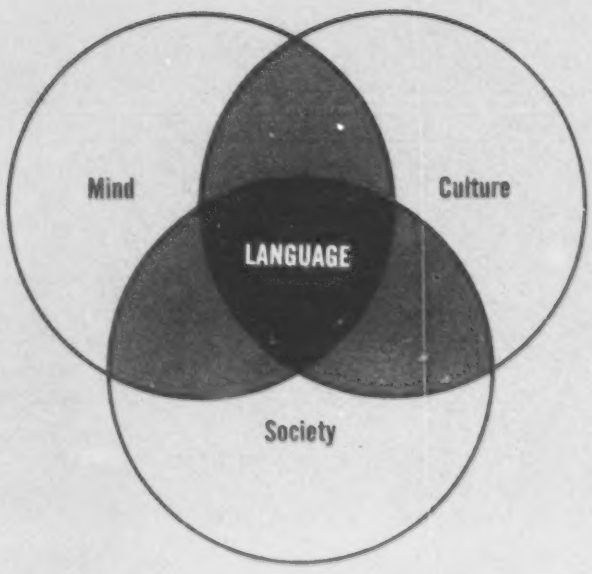

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FL008604

The Language Behavior Research Laboratory is an interdisciplinary research project at the University of California at Berkeley. It is supported by Research Grant No. MH 25703 from the National Institute of Mental Health. This support is gratefully acknowledged.

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Language Behavior Research Laboratory
2220 Piedmont Avenue
Berkeley, California 94720

PAPERS ON LANGUAGE AND CONTEXT

Jenny Cook-Gumperz
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Working Paper # 46
Language Behavior Research Laboratory
1976

CONTEXT IN CHILDREN'S SPEECH

BY

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Context in Children's Speech

Jenny Cook-Gumperz and John J. Gumperz
University of California at Berkeley

Context as Topic

To those who study child language, it often appears that many questions currently of linguistic interest were first raised in child language studies. To study the development of verbal abilities we have always had to rely on social and contextual information to a greater extent than other students of language; we have had to 'fill in' from our own and others background experience, both practical and theoretical in order to map the limited surface forms of child language into the wider framework of the potential linguistic and semantic functions of utterances. In this way child language acquisition has provided a naturally occurring experimental situation for the study of language.

For example, the study of speech, as intentional speech acts, played an important role in child language before it surfaced in theoretical linguistics; now the importance of context is being recognized. So that when after a decade of almost exclusive concentration on syntax and phonology, scholars of language are now becoming increasingly aware of the role that context plays in the functioning of language, studies of child language can be seen to have already pointed to the fact that the child's early verbalizations are goal-oriented and governed by an identifiable underlying communicative intent, which for communicative purposes has mostly to be interpreted from the context of utterances (Bloom 1973; Halliday 1973). Studies of mother-child communication from the ethological perspective also show that the child's communicative skills grow out of a complex prelinguistic communicative system which utilizes many different aspects of the ecological situation and non-verbal

signs (Richards 1974). In this paper we shall approach context from a different point of view, we shall try to demonstrate how context is used as a framing device for the semantic interpretation of message intent.

We can already show that assumptions about context play an important part in two kinds of problems. Firstly, in studies of the acquisition of such sociolinguistic phenomena as appropriateness rules, where appropriateness is seen as the selection among a set of options at the levels of phonology, syntax and lexicon, in relation to particular speech functions and extra-linguistic factors (Bates 1974). Examples are: choice of mode of address, acquisition of politeness rules or rules of code or style switching. Secondly, in analyses of the role of contextual factors in the interpretation of speech acts, particularly in those cases where the illocutionary force of utterances is different from their propositional content. Here rules normally take forms such as the following: when a teacher in a classroom makes a negative statement about a practice which a child knows is forbidden, the statement has the force of a request or order. For example: 'We don't sit on tables' is understood as 'Don't sit on this table, or else' (Sinclair and Coultard 1974).

However, it is in the study of language not only as speech but as conversational communication that the implications of context as an influence on message form, message content and its interpretations becomes most apparent. In the increasing study of conversations all are agreed that a conversation is more than a set of utterances with a single thematic connection. While the initial impetus for the study of conversation was in the social purpose communicated by conversational exchanges (Sacks 1968), the more recent concerns with conversation analysis have focused primarily on the semantic and pragmatic problems shown by naturally occurring inter-related sets of utterances.

In child language studies those by Ervin-Tripp, Keenan, Garvey, Gleason, Gelman and Shatz (1975) have all focused upon the understanding of children's developing control of both conversational competence and a range of increasingly varied speech acts within a conversational, interactive setting.

A recent paper by Keenan and Schiefflin (1975) sets the tone of this work as predominantly linguistic while at the same time showing an awareness that contextual features such as non-verbal meanings and setting influence the participants' linguistic choices. Keenan and Schiefflin's discussion concentrates upon the linguistic significance of how children are able to introduce and mark new information as discourse topics during conversational exchanges, and thus, how they demonstrate their competence at initiating and maintaining discourse. Children's verbalizations are studied with reference to the production of discourse, where discourse can be described as a coherent body of speech definable in time and place. As such a definable entity it can therefore be said to constitute a text, so that context becomes the extra-linguistic phenomena in which, in a sense, the text is embedded. As Keenan and Schiefflin point out, the notion of context can be taken as including both the previous history of the discourse as well as the preceeding utterances (in the text) and the immediate social event of which the verbal interaction is a part; all features which help to elucidate the child's understanding of the conduct of the discourse.

Although these studies all show an awareness that children do not merely talk for talk's sake, but rather their talk is closely tied to on-going action, the focus of the analytic concern remains on how children demonstrate their ability (competence) to produce and understand increasingly complex speech acts; complex in the sense that they are dependent

upon an extended chain of implicature for their intended effect in the conversational argument.

What we are suggesting in this paper is that a notion of context can be developed which can be shown to be more than a source of background information; which can be used for more than illuminating ambiguities in discourse such as unreferenced deixis, or unexplained shifts of topicalization. Context itself can be taken to be more than a cluster of already given or constant social information. The more usual linguistic view of context raises certain problems for a social definition. For in all cases the term context serves as a 'label' for a cluster of extra-linguistic or extra-grammatical factors including: setting, topic, and the social characteristics of participants such as age, ethnic identity, education and social class. The reason these factors and their inter-relationship are not specified in more detail is that a social assumption is made that these factors are (a) known, i.e., that their perception presents no problem and that speaker, hearer and analyst perceive them the same way; and (b) that their effect is direct, i.e., that if they are kept constant and if function is constant then both formation and interpretation of message is predictable. If, however, a notion of context is developed which sees context as socially dynamic, that is, as entering into the information communicated and perceived by speaker and listener, the focus of concern shifts from the division between linguistic and extralinguistic features. If context is communicated as a part of the total message from within an ongoing interactive situation, then the assumptions of constancy and directness of the social information made available, may not always hold; speaker and listener may fail to understand and even mis-communicate. The contextual information does not stand available outside of the linguistic, that is semantic, process of

communication between interactants. Even objects which define settings such as rooms, furnishings, and clothes are subject to interpretation and have to be taken into account in the semantic choices of participation.

The process of arriving at a socially active notion of context moves in the opposite direction from a linguistic one, not outwards from the linguistic conuundrum but in from a social definition of the speech situation. The study of discourse as such probably does much to separate the social interactive purposes of language from the more specifically linguistic, by assuming that the influence of a similar linguistic phenomenon to be a constant within a given or at the least definable social space. For from a social perspective, it can be shown that a similarly regarded linguistic feature (e.g., an indirect request) may have several possible strategic interpretations or functions within the on-going social interaction. What we are stressing is that people, including children, talk to achieve certain social goals or projects, not only to generate discourse, and that these goals constitute an interpretative input to the semantic field.

We suggest that an additional focus of concern in child language could be on the way in which talk influences and shapes on-going events, how children use talk to create and act out social activities. This is not to say that the linguist's concern with the linguistic realization of speech events is too limited, but that it can be shown that the focus of the analyst's concerns determines the understanding of what context constitutes as a theoretical notion. The problem is essentially a figure-ground one; if the focus of the analysis shifts to a concern with context as a socially realized phenomenon, as a part of the interactive process, rather than assuming it to be a parameter or social given, the notion of context takes on a different relevance and a more substantive character.

Communicative Activity as a Context Framing Device

We have suggested that most work with a linguistic focus in the study of conversation has assumed that contexts can be specified as, at the least, a cluster of backgrounded social information, which once known can be used to elucidate any set of linguisticmessages; and secondly, that these features or sources of information, being extra-linguistic, do not enter directly into the linguistic process of reasoning. Work in the conversational analysis of adult speech shows that neither of these assumptions is justified. It would be very difficult for example to find any one set of extra-linguistic factors which could account for the subtle, often momentary, shifts in speech function and mood illustrated in work such as Garfinkel and Sacks's on formulating (1970) and Goffman's studies in Frame Analysis (1975) or to account for the fact that as Sacks (1972) has shown in his work on puns, the interpretation of any one utterance can change radically as a result of something else which is said later on in time.

Our own initial evidence on the operation of contextual factors in speech comes from work in code and style switching. The term switching is commonly used to describe the speakers selection among clusters of lexical, prosodic or--in the case of codes--grammatical options in verbalizing what he wants to convey. Although such options are semantically equivalent inasmuch as they represent the same 'objective content', they are associated with certain restricted classes of communicative activities, so that they pass without notice when their occurrence is expected. When not expected, however, such selections may be singled out as inappropriate or lead to inferences which affect the interpretation of speakers intent. We thus speak of such things as lecturing, preaching, announcing or conversing as distinct types of speech activities.

It can easily be shown that speakers who share the same communicative background have no difficulty in agreeing on the identification of such activities even when the details or content of what is said are not clearly understood, although to describe or characterize the linguistic knowledge that is involved in such identifications in terms of grammatical or phonological rules has not been successful. The best that can be done from a purely linguistic point of view is to rely on statistical counts of key items. These counts, to be sure, do reveal significant differences in the incidence of grammatical forms which correlate highly with speakers perception. Yet they are by their very nature post facto analyses, which can only be done upon completion of the act, that is, when the finished text is available. Therefore, statistical counts do not account for speakers ability to categorize speech activities as they are being produced, that is, to predict, on the basis of just a few utterances how what follows is to be framed, or to identify and bracket asides and interjections which do not form part of the overall frame.

To explain such categorization processes it is necessary to be much clearer than we have been in relating speakers' perceptive processes to the identification of speech activity. No doubt physical setting and social background of participants always play an essential role in the contextualization of talk. When we see a group of children seated in rows in an enclosure which we identify as a classroom, facing an adult speaker who is standing behind a desk, we are fairly safe in assuming that teaching or lecturing is going on. When the enclosure has the trappings of a church and the audience consists of adults and the speaker is standing in front of an altar, the activity is most probably a church service or preaching. What we want to point out is that the role of such

factors is never a static one. As Goffman has repeatedly stated, the mere fact that actors are co-present in an environment does not mean that they are engaged in an interaction. Communication requires involvement and this involvement is signalled by perceptual cues which must be actively and continuously monitored in the course of the interaction.

Recent studies in non-verbal behavior vividly illustrate this monitoring process. Sheflen (1972), in his analysis of psychiatric interview sessions, shows that such sessions are subdivided and to some extent controlled by systematically changing arrays of postural configurations of actors vis-a-vis each other and that these configurations have important implications for what is communicated.

Kendon (1970) and more recently Erikson et al. (1973) have demonstrated that conversation is a rhythmic, cooperative activity involving timing of gestures and speech and requiring both speaking and listenership skills. It can be shown that breakdowns in rhythmic co-ordination can have an important effect on the outcome of an interaction.

We would like to suggest that the linguistic markers of style can be treated from a similar perspective: that is, if instead of looking at style in statistical terms, we regard speakers and listeners as constantly monitoring stylistic aspects of talk as criteria of on-going interaction to produce rhetorical effect, we gain better more fruitful insights into the role of context in verbal communication.

That speech style affects meaning can easily be shown. Consider the following passage, reconstituted from notes on classroom observations.

Teacher addressing a group of first graders:

1. Now lsiten everybody.
2. At ten o'clock we'll have assembly. We'll all go out together and go to the auditorium and sit in the first

two rows. Mr. Doc, the principal, is going to speak to us. When he comes in, sit quietly and listen carefully.

3. Don't wiggle your legs. Pay attention to what I'm saying.

Part (1) of the teacher's message, spoken with raised pitch and loud voice is simultaneously a call to attention and an order. In part (3) the rhythm slows to a measured pace, pitch drops while the volume remains high. These stylistic features, along with certain features of syntax, mark the passage as an announcement. In (3), pitch rises once more, volume increases, rhythm speeds up, and don't and attention are stressed, indicating that the teacher is making a side remark addressing a particular child, not the class. Note that in order to understand what is going on here, listeners must be aware of the signaling value that the shifts in rhythm and prosody have in relation to content. Without this information several component sentences are ambiguous. Both the last two phrases of part (2) and the two sentences in (3) have the syntactic form of a command. The former, however, being part of an announcement refer to (a) the class as a whole and (b) events in the future while the sentences in (3) are addressed to one individual and require immediate action. Failure to recognize this can result in serious misunderstanding.

In our detailed micro-analysis of conversational exchanges we have distinguished two kinds of relationships of extralinguistic factors to language usage: situational and metaphorical (Blom and Gumperz 1972). In the former situational case there is a direct relationship to language usage to extralinguistic factors. A change in linguistic form always corresponds to some change in the latter. In the case of metaphorical usage the speakers knowledge of situational rules becomes the basis for further conversational inferences about the meaning of component messages.

To give a simple example, imagine a mother somewhere in the United States calling her child as follows:

Johnny come here

Johnny come here

John Henry Smith come here.

Most speakers of American English would agree here that the third sentence is more than just a repetition. It is also a mild warning, suggesting that if Johnny does not come, there may be some consequences. What is the basis for such interpretations? One could say that item three represents formal style and that in formal speech a speaker is somehow more serious than informal speech. But formality itself is a matter of context. We identify certain forms as formal because they are said in highly regulated convention-governed settings.

Note in our example that the extralinguistic situation remains the same. All we can say is that the full name John Henry Smith here is lexically associated with formal activities and that in the absence of any change in extralinguistic factors the choice of form which carries such lexical associations generates the conversational inference of warning.

Systematic analysis of style and code switching in conversation has shown that while it is true that extralinguistic factors constrain language usage, they do not completely determine it. We suggest that context judgments are in part socio-cognitive judgements and also in part linguistic judgments. For this reason we will talk about processes of contextualization, which build on the speakers ability to associate certain kinds of linguistic contextualization cues, such as the first name versus full name in this case, choice of code or style in other cases, or pronunciation elsewhere, with propositional content on the one hand and extralinguistic cues and background expectations on the other.

Such associations or cooccurrence expectations among these extralinguistic and linguistic cues lead to eta-semantic judgements, which cause the speaker to categorize what goes on as a social speech activity which can be named in everyday terms as conversation, reading, lecturing, and the like. It is this latter semantic judgement which then feeds back into the interpretation of messages, not the factors directly.

For example, the sentence 'You put your hand in there' is interpreted as an instruction, if the contextualization process identifies it as part of the activity of instructing, although when the contextualization process suggests conversation, it may count as a statement or perhaps as a request (Cook-Gumperz 1975). Similarly, sentences like 'Hey, what's happening', count as greeting when contextualization cues suggest that the rules of American Black rhetoric are being used. If contextualization cues are coded in a way similar to lexico-semantic information, then contextualization itself is a linguistic or meta-linguistic ability and it must be subject to processes and stages of learning which are similar to other types of linguistic learning.

Therefore, in order to study how context enters into speakers and listeners judgements and performances in social situations, we have to focus upon how context is realized as a part of the interaction. That is the focus will be on the social act, or rather upon the social activity, that gest accomplished both through and in conjunction with any specific sequence of talk (Cook-Gumperz 1976a).

We began with the observation that the participants in the activity themselves have a "notion" (we have left this term purposely "vague" as to what kind of mental/cognitive construct it is) of the activity they believe themselves to be engaged in, and they communicate

this notion to their partners either as new information or as a check that this information is in fact shared. The notion of the activity then serves as a "framing device" to limit the regression of the search for an interpretation of any referential item, any gestural/kinesic schema, that is a reference and against which participants check their understanding of the speech and social activity taking place before their eyes. Therefore contextual information is both coded as semantic information, and signalled as a part of the interaction by a process we will refer to as contextualization. The signalling of context makes the context available to the participants as a potentially sharable cognitive construct which frames the range of possible interpretations both in terms of the relevance of presuppositions and as the guides to further action.

What we are suggesting is that we must know not only the context as a preceding utterance or as the scene in which the activity is taking place, but also the context as perceived by the speaker and listener, in order to make a judgement about the intent and effect of an utterance. What is more the perceived context becomes a part of the communicative activity itself and is recognized and addressed, in times of need, such as conversational repair, by the participants themselves.

The perceived context is signalled through contextualization cues across a string of utterances so that both speaker and listener can potentially share the same interpretative frame and can use this knowledge strategically to shape the outcome of the interaction.

Children's Uses of Context

The emphasis of this paper so far has been on describing the theoretical armory useful for talking about context as an achieved and negotiable part of any social interaction; we must now relate these

theoretical ideas to the actual practices of children's talk, or rather attempt to demonstrate how children use contextualization cues to communicate, or to fail to communicate, about the social activity they are engaged in achieving. Elsewhere we have advanced the argument that children's talk can be distinguished from that of adults because of differently negotiated uses of context and that adult-child miscommunication can be a result of conflicting or differing views of the speech activity of which the talk is a situated part, due to the different uses of contextualization cues.

Here we will give some examples of how the notion of what activity is taking place unfolds through talk itself without the purposes of the speech activity being formulated or explicitly lexicalized.

1. The following example is a shortened version of a passage analyzed in more detail in Corsaro and Cook-Gumperz (1975). It is based on a videotape recording made by Corsaro in the course of a year long micro-ethnographic study of nursery school peer group interaction.

C and S are standing at a play table which has some scrap paper and a stapler on it. They are working at stapling together pieces of paper. They have taken over the table from another child who had been using it as a police station and had referred to the table as his police desk. The girls had come to share the table, saying 'We are the teachers'; after a short while the other child left. M, a third, comes along and sits down at the table as the stapling episode begins.

1. S: (touching table, as M comes up) This is our desk. Nobody can come in our office. (M sits down opposite)
2. C: (taking no notice of M) No, we show the kids, right.
3. S: We working.
4. C: Yea.

5. S: Nobody can come in. (C and S look at each other while C replies)

6. C: No.

7. S: Then we ... teaching (as M reaches for the stapler)

8. S: No. He not can't come in.

9. C: No no, we're teachers.

S's first statement in item (1) is spoken in normal conversational tone. After the first sentence, the pitch register rises slightly, loudness increases and rhythm becomes more emphatic to suggest a declarative announcing tone. C replies by copying this declarative tone and the same style is maintained, until it is broken by S's overloud, emphatic 'No'. Immediately afterwards, however, in the next phrase S shifts back into the previous declarative tone and this tone is once more copied by C in item 9.

Note how the game develops. There is no introduction such as 'let's play school', no attempt to formulate the activity verbally by saying 'we're playing teachers', just a simple statement 'we're teachers'. The fact that C responds to S's shift from conversational tone and copies her declarative style is the only signal we have that the activity of playing teachers has been agreed upon. The activity, moreover, lasts only as long as the same prosodic style is maintained Once it is recognized what game is being played this recognition feeds back into an interpretation of component messages. For example, the phrase 'no' occurs several times, each time with different situated meaning. In item two and six it is simply a response suggesting agreement with S's preceding statement. The 'no' in eight is clearly directed at M and the meaning is 'don't'. While in item 9 the prosody and rhythm suggest that it is being interpreted as game talk. Similarly the fact that

'nobody can come in' receives the same prosoduc treatment as 'we're teachers' and identifies it as game structuring talk, rather than 'a command'. The teaching game is also built up through a semantic tie between the use of 'our office' and the later statement 'we teaching', into which the 'Nobody can come in' fits as a statement about being a teacher in the office. The idea of 'being teachers' is gradually built up from the two children's entry into the situation which occurred as they took over the play from another child. Earlier and later talk continues with various interuptions to develop the 'being teacher' theme. In this excerpt it can be seen that the presence of the other child, M, is brought into the game as a child who is 'naughty'. In this context 'Nobody can come in' exists as a cue, a definitional comment about the play situation, not an order to refrain from doing something. Since the intonation is declarative, it is not made in immediate response to M who has been sitting since the beginning of this sequence at the table drawing. M only enters the game when he reaches for the stapler, until this point he has been non-existent for the purposes of this play.

2. This example is taken from a recording of children's play talk in a London home. Participants are D, the mother, who made the recording and two three-and-a-half-year old girls, S and L, who regularly play together. The mother is in the bedroom, sorting out some clothes in a closet. The children are trying on some of the clothes the mother has put down.

1. D: Well, you're getting dressed up in all my clothes now, are you?

2. L: (imitating baby talk) natcha natcha, dika dika...

3. D: Wait a minute. This box... I'm stacking up to keep, all right.

4. L: Right.

5. E: You can play with those things over there.
6. L: natcha natcha...
7. D: Leave it alone
8. S: sota sota.....
9. L: natcha natcha...
10. S: No. No.
11. L: natcha natcha.... Mummy, mummy. That my pillow.
12. D: Wait a minute.
13. S: No, she doesn't mean you. I mean...
14. L: natcha natcha.....
15. S: (to D) I'm putting this for L. , out there.
16. D: All right S....
17. L: natcha natcha.... What are you doing, mama?
18. D: I'm still sorting through all these things.
19. L: No, I mean dattie.
20. D: You mean S is your mummy.
21. L: Yea

L and S are playing mummy and baby. L is doing baby talk, for the most part using nonsense syllables. On two occasions however in 11 and 17 she uses her baby talk to also include content words, "Mummy, mummy.That my pillow" and "what are you doing mama". The mother who has disregarded the baby talk, responds to the content words, perhaps because she is attuned to the call "mummy", even though the voice quality is still that of baby talk. The children indignantly correct her since they know that the voice indicates that L is still in her game character as baby. In this example instruction and voice quality are the contextualizing features that distinguish in-character talk.

3. In this next example also taken from video-tape nursery school data collected by Corsaro, J (a boy) and M (a girl) had been playing mother and father in the playhouse earlier in the morning. The game had finished and they had gone their separate ways to get their morning snack and do other things. When observed M was playing with some toy animals, horses, cows, a zebra, sheep on a rug. J goes over to M, stands behind her, while she is kneeling on the rug moving the animals around making them do various things. After standing for a while he says:

J: Let's go to bed honey let's go to bed. (this remark made in a slightly high pitch, has a rising contour on each phrase and a slight lengthening on the two phrase final words)

M: (after a pause) No I'm playing with these animals (another pause) The animals are going to bed (this is said in a higher pitch, the last word is lengthened)

Pause

J: Honey, it's nighttime let's go to bed (same intonational contour as the previous utterances)

M: Yes It's nighttime the animals are sleepy (pause) They're all going to bed. Horse is going to bed (M is moving the animals around and putting them on their sides to make them go to sleep)

J stands for some time watching M putting the animals to bed, neither speaks, then J walks away.

Here, J is clearly alluding to the previous game by adopting the rhythm and prosody of that game, and by implication asking M to resume the game. M either did not understand him or chose not to cooperate. Most likely the latter, since she uses the suggestion of J's remarks, but puts them to use in signalling a game of her own. In other words she is incorporating J's suggestions as a part of her own play. Since the game had stopped, the need to restart the game probably required certain statements of purpose. In this case use of the contextualization cue switch

which indexes 'game talk' and game history is not sufficient and results in miscommunication. Both are relying on special contextual information signaled through use of intonation and voice tone, as well as the semantic content of the message. M does not immediately tune into the game talk but gives an answer to the request, she then uses the information in J's request to build into her own game, using her own 'game talk' intonation, a common pattern of intonation that we have observed before in fantasy games. In this sequence both children are using contextualized information which indexes their own games, but neither picks up the others reference and thus, they fail to communicate with each other.

Our final example is similar to the previous one in that it shows a contextual switch using semantic choice, but this time it is used more successfully. The switch occurs when the game takes a very different turn and the context switch seems to signal that the speaker is ready to accept what the other participant wants.

Two small girls (aged 3-1/2) are playing in an upstairs 'sleeping loft'. They are playing 'Mummy and Daddy'. The game begins to take a turn not liked by S; she either is fed up or doesn't want to play anymore. The sequence begins here.

S: I'm going to go down now

L: Aren't you playing?

S: Are you, are you?

L: Yes well I'll be quiet if you don't play Daddy

S: Well any rate I'm just going to go down for a minute

L: and then you'll come back up to help me

S: anyway I'm going to play chalking

L: Please don't I'll be dead oh oh please (little whiney voice) please help me Daddy please come

> Don't you want to punch me anymore PAUSE (S is lingering at the top of the stairs, L is on the bed) Are you called S-- I'm called L-- I'm not playing I'm taking my slippers off and I'm not playing again I'm just going to get down and I'm not playing I'm called L not S or Mummy or Daddy I'm called L not S--
>
> This example ends here as S comes down the stairs followed by L and they both get involved in having a snack.

Both intonation, voice tone and semantic switch indicate a complete change in the game and an acceptance by L that the game is over but that she is still 'friends' with S. In fact, although the words don't look like it, L's tone of voice in the latter part of her long statement is quite placating, giving support to the idea that the switch was made so dramatically because L thought that the game had in some way offended S. S's reference to 'going to play chalking' (that means to draw on the chalk board) is really perhaps a way of saying "I'm going to do something by myself". The number of interchanges about ending the game is also unusual for children's play, where games often just come to an end gradually or by some other activity taking their place. L's shift of context is from organizational talk in normal tone and 'play talk' in special tone, to the special ending sequence where both tone and semantics are quite different from the preceeding talk. Since the girls continue to play together, it may be assumed that this switch of context and tone, although there was no reply, may have been successful and recognized by S as 'doing placatory agreement' as a speech activity signaled both by voice tone and by the shift to redefining people and out of game characters.

The switch of context through the use of cues, both semantic and intonational but not supported by any formulated comments is shown in both of these examples and is very different from what we would expect in adult-child or adult-adult interactions.

Having shown in these examples semantic and intonational communication of context as a part of the unfolding definition of situation, we must ask how, it is, that given that there are no explicit or as yet formalizable rules for contextualization, do children learn to do contextualizing. We have already suggested that contextualization is a linguistic or meta-linguistic process and in this way contextualization cues can be seen as operating at the same level of unconscious awareness as other linguistic features. We must assume for the moment that contextualization is learnt as a part of lexical knowledge. Evidence is beginning to be collected that children early in life learn many non-verbal postural communicative activities such as alignment of speaker-listener's positions, maintenance of gaze, and also learn to turn-take and watch for the cues that signal turn (Stern 1974). Knowledge of what we are calling contextualization cues is a part of this experience. These cues and part of the total array of signs that the child employs to make sense of the linguistic, semantic-syntactic message. The interpretation of messages between speaker and listener depends upon several modalities or channels of communication. The speaker uses all of these modalities although he or shemay emphasize one or another modality as the primary carrier of meaning. The normal daily adult interchange of communication relies upon a 'balance' of information in all the channels that meet adult expectation of an 'unmarked' exchange. More emphasis on gesture, body movement, facial movement, stress, intonational contrast, is a way of marking, of drawing special attention to the information carried in that channel.

Research by Argyle and associates has shown that as adults we are so dependent on the normal form of horizontally monitored coordinated information from all channels that if any alteration is made experimentally, for

example, by restricting the range of one of the interactants gaze, the normal rhythm of exchange and turn taking is upset (Argyle 1975). What we are suggesting is that while we, as adults, foreground our attention to the semantic-syntactic channel of information we rely upon a background of non-verbal information being monitored by us in all the other available modalities of sight and sound, and a developed notion of what constitutes a 'normal array' of information between the background features and the foreground information.

For children, the division between foreground and background features (see Cook-Gumperz 1972) is more fluid than for adults. This is shown by the fact that in everyday occurrences children are likely to comment on 'background' features as part of a normal explanation of a speech event. In children's talk the relationship between the channels of modalities is different, and children appear to regard all the available information as similarly weighted for the purpose of making sense of what is being said. At the same time it appears that children do not share adult performance norms which require them to make a statement in several modalities at once, by movement, kinesic gesture, semantic routine, intonation patterns--all the full battery of communicative signaling that adults use to mark, for example, the termination of a neighborly chat or a leave taking.

For example, the lack of modality redundancy in children's communication appears account for sudden shifts of topic or attention which appear inexplicable to adults. Work in nursery schools (reported by Corsaro) has shown that children appear to devote considerable verbal and non-verbal strategy to getting into play with each other, however leave taking is a simple, apparently unmarked phenomenon; games often

cease and are similarly reentered by previously absent participants with no verbal formulation of entry or exit. It seems that once having established a communicative event, as an activity with a concurrently shared history, children do not need to mark the obvious fact of leaving the scene as a cessation of activity. The shared activity can often easily be resumed within a certain time period (Corsaro and Cook-Gumperz 1975).

This observation raises the question: do children in fact rely upon information communicated in other modalities rather than the semantic information, or do different forms or alternations have differing meanings in child speech? Our examples have shown that child speech is both more literal and yet at the same time apparently more indirect than adult speech. This apparent paradox is the result of the children's speech being tied more closely to the situation and the meanings depending more upon negotiation of meaning in the present interaction or from very recent past encounters. Children often use utterances formulaically such as in the 'nobody can come in' example. Since the 'truth condition' of this utterance did not hold, there was no where to come in to, no doorway or room boundary; the statement related not to entry into a space but situationally to the definition of a territory and an idea of the game. At the same time children do not use the adult technique of 'formulating' stating the purpose of the talk in so many words, but rely upon the purpose becoming clear from the context of the talk and the ways of contextualizing through a single set of cues. In these ways the child's talk is both more literal because of its situational association and more indirect because what to adults are unmarked content utterances are in fact formulaic statements.

In the case of code-switching, studies have shown (Genishi 1975) that children, while using situational switching, have not yet, it is

presumed, developed sufficient communicative memory to use metaphorical switching. Children cannot yet take off from the literal meaning of the speech and disassociate this meaning from its situation in order to make metaphorical use of semantic linguistic information.

The examples we have used must necessarily be limited by space in a single paper; empirically, in order to examine and build up a strong case for contextualization cues it is necessary, with such phenomena as intonation to establish the 'norm' or range of 'normal' unmarked intonation and pitch range for individuals, and dyads before we are able to see the significant switches and changes. The value and significance of the semantics of certain passages, as in our examples, grows out of a much longer passage and sequences of interaction which are known and used in selecting these instances for examination.

Our findings reported here are preliminary but it is hoped sufficient to show some of the possibilities of considering children's speech in context as a single communicative whole. More systematic investigation is required but there are both theoretical and practical consequences for fieldwork from this approach. If, as we have tried to demonstrate it can be shown that verbal and non-verbal contextualization skills exist, then they can tell us a great deal about how the child acquires social and cultural rules, for these must operate much like contextual frames and information.

Acknowledgements

Work on this paper was supported by NIMH Grant R01 MH26063-02 and by a post-doctoral fellowship from the NICHD to Cook-Gumperz and by NIMH Grant 26831-01 to Gumperz. We would like to thank Professor William Corsaro, University of Indiana, Bloomington, for sharing with us some of his data and observations on nursery school peer interaction.

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SOCIAL-ECOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS ON CHILDREN'S COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES

by

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1975

"And the Mole recollected that animal etiquette forbade any sort of comment on the sudden disappearance of one's friends at any moment, for any reason or for no reason whatever."

Wind in the Willows

Introduction

From a sociological perspective it is recognized that within the child's world, in child-oriented settings such as the nursery school, children are engaged in the necessary "methodic production of a possible society," (Silverman, 1972) in much the same way as are adults in their daily lives. Children, however, are apprentices to adult social and linguistic skills and do not yet have available to them the adult range of linguistic control and strategies of action. In this way the study of children's activities and performances provides a natural experimental setting for the study not only of social skills but of language as a social phenomena. Until recently, apart from recognition in interactionist theory (Mead, 1934 and Cooley, 1964), the role that language plays in making demonstrable the achievement of ordered social production was not recognized.

From the perspective of child language studies, the assumption that learning to speak is intrinsically part of the child's growing social understanding, has recently become an acceptable point of view. However, in what ways language development provides a model for studying the child's growing social awareness and skills, his ability to manage relationships with others, and his "sense of social structure" thereby generated, has not yet been made theoretically clear. It has been suggested that the child acquires a knowledge of the social structure which is "generative" in the same way that knowledge of language rules is generative (Cicourel, 1970). But in what ways social knowledge both influences the course of language acquisition and is demonstrated in the form and choices of linguistic utterances, is only just beginning to be studied through the concern with speech acts and the pragmatics of linguistic choices. From this standpoint, social features are considered as a background

of assumed knowledge against which listeners judge the speaker's linguistically expressed communicative intent.

Speech acts and the social uses of language have not been studied within a wider (socialization) framework, either by interactionist and developmental sociologists or by psycholinguists. The child's attempts at speech interpretation and production are as much a part of the child's social knowledge as of his linguistic knowledge, but they have only been studied from the latter viewpoint. Within the linguistic framework the speech analysis remains sentence based and unrelated to the wider process of social (communicative) interpretation.

Our focus of interest will be in what utterances do sociologically within the social framework as a part of the development of on-going interaction, rather than in the potentially reciprocal question of the influences of social features on the linguistic forms. To this end we will focus not only on a single utterance, nor only on groupings of utterances, but on the relationship of each utterance to its verbal successor, or to the action response through which the sequence or interactive episode is developed. Our concern will be with the ways in which language is used to define, develop, demonstrate and reflect upon the progress of the social interaction.

This paper began with the observation that in nursery school, children much like Mole and Badger, do not appear to find it necessary to comment upon their own, or other friends, leaving from any task or any area of play with other children; although entry into play with others, either singly or jointly is a production of some importance and often takes considerable time and strategy to accomplish. We have observed repeatedly that the ending of an activity comes when the members present dissolve the activity and go about other paths of action without comment or remark. Since these observations

differ so considerably from the adult norm, where both entry and leave-taking must be marked by verbal routines, the question arises as to possible differences in sociolinguistic conventions which children practice with each other in peer interaction. These differences in conduct and interpretation can be taken as displaying the child's own knowledge of how social rules of interaction get put into practice.

In approaching this study we became aware that the nursery school itself provided a collection of physical-environmental locations, each having a specific socially defined character and providing different possibilities for social interaction, both through the learned, conventionalized expectations and through the accoustomed, practiced expectations that these settings generated.

In our description of the nursery school we will attempt to show how the setting takes on a specific social character through both conventionalized and accoustomed expectations of the ecological areas; and how these socially defined locations then enter into the children's choices of communicative strategies for games and events which are specific to these areas. In this way we will consider the notion of context more widely to include not only linguistic phenomena, but also the entire social-physical setting insofar as it becomes a socially activated part of the child's life space. In some ways this approach is similar to that of the ecological psychologists (Barker, 1963, 1968) in whose work the entire stream of behavior in context, is considered as a single element. There was in this work, however, no explanatory social concepts which would separate out or evaluate the special role of language as a focus for social action choices.

Context Considered from Other Perspectives: Psychological and Sociological

Recent studies in linguistics (and in child language acquisition Bates, 1974; Dore, 1975; and Halliday, 1973) have begun to consider the way in which context enters into the determination of the communicative intent of a verbal message, and constrains the interpretation of the performative force of that message. Context has been considered to include many aspects of the environmental conditions, both factive and social, as well as the linguistic conditions considered in terms of a previous utterance and the phonological and semantic collocations developing out of previous statements. Linguists vary in the range of items that can be included within a general description of context, although the features included will all directly relate to some semantic-syntactic component of the message to be explained, within the linguistic theory.

From the psychologistic viewpoint Dore (1975) has discussed the assignment of features to the interpretative context, and has distinguished the speaker's communicative intent, which is linguistically expressed, from the speaker's motives which are notions of socially variable factors which would therefore only randomly influence the linguistic explanation. In a similar way context is taken, by psycholinguists, to refer to those features of a previous utterance which have a link to the linguistic structure of an utterance. The structure of a single utterance is considered much as a single molecular structure can be examined within a molecular string. The study of the entire string where single structures have a cumulative influence is referred to as discourse analysis. In discourse analysis, however, the focus is still upon the linguistic conditions of an interpretible text (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1974) considered as a product of a previous interaction

exchange. However, from a slightly different perspective, that of the interactionist study of social action, in which the utterance of speech is a central phenomenon, the role and definition of context becomes rather more varied. In this paper we will be considering the role which the actual physical-environmental setting plays in the generating of a socially defined, commonly recognized, and communicatively influential context, as a members' (interactionists') way of guiding the on-going interactional episode.

What is taken to be a context, what is ground and what foregrounded in the analysis of everyday social behaviors, is a more open question than seems, at first, apparent from recent linguistic/psycholinguistic studies. The determination of context as the ground of social action is not a new problem. In the social psychology work of the ecological psychologists (Wright 1951, 1955; and Barker, 1963, 1968) the problems of the recognition both by members and by analysts of the meaningful segments within the stream of behavior, and the way in which settings as context enter into the determination of this recognition, was a central issue (see Barker's introduction to Stream of Behavior, 1963).

For ecological psychologists the grouping of social acts or events into segments which would be meaningful in terms of members' projects, was perhaps more difficult to ask than the definition of the more narrowly defined linguistic focus on the intended effect of the verbal message, as Dore's (1975) recent discussion of motives and communicative intent shows.

Although it can be shown that the study of naturalistic interaction in the socially defined setting enters into the basic framework of interpretation in the empirical study of interaction processes, social psychologists have usually kept the influence of setting as a socio-ecological phenomenon

as slight and randomly variable as possible by utilizing the neutralizing constraints of laboratory settings. The fundamental reductionism of psychological models and explanations of social interaction have made the adoption of such neutralizing settings credible and acceptable as a way of studying social processes.

From a sociological perspective the social action model (Weber, 1968; Silverman, 1970) requires the elucidation of a meaning focus--the socially intended character of the act, to be the basic premise for the designation of a social action. However, the way in which the meaning focus can be examined other than through an institutionally focused analysis of status norms and normative expectations has only recently again become of practical interest (see Cicourel, 1971). The way in which natural language through socially sanctioned patterns of semantic and syntactic systems encodes the basic possibility of social relations was suggested by Mead and explored by Mills, but the working through of the actual practicalities of any analytic framework was not maintained. The implications of the work of Sacks (1972, 1973), Schegloff and Sacks (1974), and Sacks, Jefferson, and Schegloff (1974) in what is now called conversational analysis took up the possibilities and explained the way in which the progression of a social relationship can be structured, maintained, and its meaningful intentional character realized by the sequencing of the segments of verbal interchanges and their intersequential semantic relationships. Sacks' insight, following the work of Garfinkel (1967), into the essentially sociological implications of the temporal character of an interchange, is the practical demonstration of the ordered production of socially intended action.

In this report we will show how the interpretation of a series of utterances depends upon the interactant's definition of context as it is

communicated in the course of the interaction. The notion of expectations engendered by the setting acts as an initial frame to the interpretation-action chain into which a single utterance occurs. The interpretation of any utterance depends upon the negotiated understandings that have developed during the interaction, and on the situated character of that utterance such as its prosodic shape in relation to previous utterances and any semantic ties to previous utterances, to previous events, or to any factors of the environmental setting.

Situated Meaning and Negotiated Understandings

From an interactionist perspective the production and interpretation of language is a situated phenomenon which requires the social-environmental setting, the needs of the interactants, and the developing social relationship to be taken into account. In this way language is considered as a part of a total communication system, in which the system itself generates certain particular understandings during the course of interaction.

This perspective has found descriptive expression in some of the recent studies in pre-linguistic development of children which have explored the development of communication systems between mothers and children (Blurton-Jones, 1967; Bruner, 1975; and Sugarman, 1973). These studies have begun to show something of the delicate interdependence of the pre-linguistic system of contextual cues as situational information. Once the child can be said to have acquired language, however, the previous interdependence of communicative interpretation ability on situational features is put aside by the analyst. But this rejection of situated information may not be so for the child. The argument has been made (Cook-Gumperz, 1973, 1975a) that for adults and for children, situational information is backgrounded for the

purposes of reconstructed accounts of interpretation although both situated and paralinguistic cues are relied upon by speaker-hearers in actual events to guide the process of interpretation. By focusing on foregrounding the semantic-syntactic channels of information, the process of communication-interpretation is seen as a linguistic process which depends only upon the coding of information in semantic-syntactic systems. But in everyday life members depend upon more than linguistic information alone, even in the selection of the possible interpretive choices for linguistic items (see Cicourel, 1974).

This extra-linguistic dependence upon the interpretative frame of any utterance, or sequence of utterances, has been referred to as the situated character of language in context (Cook-Gumperz, 1974; 1975a). By situated character we imply that meanings conveyed by ordinary language-in-use, depend not only upon the user's knowledge of the properties, lexico-semantic-syntactic of language, the unconscious knowledge of relationships represented by grammatical choices, but also upon the interactively developed significance of any sequence of verbal communication which builds upon the available linguistic properties of language. The notion of situated meaning suggests that the "intentional" structure of language alone does not account for the use that language is put in any actual sequence of behavior.

The socio-ecological properties of settings, in which speech events take place, enter into actors' judgements about the interpretation of any verbal message--not only in terms of the conventionalized meaning of any of the features, but also in the way in which the progress of the interaction is shaped.

The interpretation of spoken utterances requires the recognition of more than one kind of meaning, and following the use of speech act philosophy,

not only referential but also conveyed meaning is now recognized in sociolinguistic studies. Conveyed meaning concerns the contrastive implications generated by the use of a particular referential syntactic-lexical item in a context. The acknowledgement of conveyed meaning recognizes that language does not have a one-to-one correspondence with an established order of objects but that words vary with their use in context. The same semantic string can have several meanings according to its context, and the social context in the sense of both the textual environment and the social presuppositions of the particular utterance which enter into the interpretation. To these two kinds of meaning, we will, in this study of spoken language, add a third--situated meaning. This must not be confused with situational or contextual meaning, which we have subsumed briefly within the term "conveyed meaning." We should perhaps distinguish these two forms in order to show that by "situated meaning" we refer to the essentially performance characteristics of speech which add a new dimension to the interpretation of language apart from the verbal (semantic-syntactic) channel and which, therefore, indexes a very different kind of knowledge from that which can be referred to as more specifically linguistic. Situational or contextual meaning references the particular social knowledge of accepted conventions and their implications for their references to the utterance being interpreted, and can also be described in part as the social presuppositions of the utterance. This order of meaning refers to "what anyone knows" but does not explicitly state, insofar as this knowledge affects the immediate interpretation of the utterance in question (Gumperz, 1974).

By situated meaning we are referring to knowledge that includes accepted social conventions as well as, what could best be described as, the negotiated features of the particular social interaction of which the utterance is a situated part.[1] As such situated meaning refers to features

of context or situation that are outside of the sphere of the linguistic chain of implicature and, therefore, refers to the more specifically sociological features of the situated character of speech performance. Therefore, situated meaning is essential for the interpretation of speech as it conveys the speaker-hearer's knowledge of how to conduct and interpret live performances. The features previously referred to as paralinguistic--intonation, stress as well as contrastive rhythm, shifts of phonetic values--are other ways of conveying meaning that add to or alter the meaning of semantic choices. Situated meaning is also carried by the kinetic gestures and body movements that speakers use, and their conventionalized interpretative possibilities.

Another component of situated meaning is the negotiation of specific semantic-lexical interpretations during the course of a particular stretch of interaction. Here we are referring to negotiated understandings in that while conventional usage and conventionalized rules of discourse constrain many of the possibilities for the interpretation of messages, some always remain open for negotiation in the occurrence of each social encounter. The conventional rules of discourse, the accepted cultural cues for interpretation (see Gumperz, 1975) as well as the semantic-grammatical system present a frame of possibilities which the participants can work to construct sequences of talk which have a particular meaning with the on-going interaction and the present setting. These temporally specific meanings differ from the cultural specific cues which have been described by Gumperz (1975), in that these meanings are derived only for purposes at hand and are subject to the rule of interpretation of "for all practical purposes". These features show the possible variation in use that any specific semantic-grammatical structure can be put and how any constellation of features present specific information

which utilizes the setting as a part of the necessary interpretative frame. Those negotiated understandings have often been spotted as of particular importance in the interpretation of children's utterances in context, but their role in the course of both adult and child interactional exchanges has rarely been pointed out except by Cicourel (1974) in his work on deaf sign-language.

Procedures and Terms for the Analysis

In this section we will discuss the different analytic terms and data collection procedures we are utilizing:

(1) The notion of ecological areas and the expectations generated from the setting,

(2) The definition of interactive episodes,

(3) The description of the ethnographic procedures and context of how the study was carried out.

Ecological Areas of the Nursery School

The ecological areas of the nursery school are defined in terms of three basic properties: (1) the location and physical characteristics of the area in regard to the overall setting; (2) the physical and social (other interactants) objects within the ecological area; and (3) the accustomed expectations interactants carry into the ecological areas concerning the type and nature of activity which normally occurs there.

One and two make up the third property of the ecological areas that we have referred to as the accoustomed expectations of the setting. This is the expectations the interactants have of what type of activities normally occurs there. These three properties combined give rise to the use of conventionalized expectations. Conventionalized expectations have more usually been referred to as role expectations, the cross-situational

knowledge of particular roles (such as policeman, fireman; family roles--mother, father, baby, and older siblings; teachers and pupils) and the normative behavioral expectations attached to these roles. Accoustomed expectations in combination with the actual physical-spatial-geographic location of the settings provide the grounds on which children will choose to take up one of the roles and conventionalized expectations as a play activity. Accoustomed expectations arise only from knowledge gained informally from practical observation of the kind of activities the different spatial areas are used for, both by children and teachers. These expectations express the child's knowledge of the socially defined character of each area. Conventionalized expectations, on the other hand, represent a presumed shared body of knowledge from which all children can be said to develop communicative strategies to create and maintain peer play sequences. For example, in the analysis of situations we will show how the children use accoustomed expectations of the activities that take place at the work tables in combination with conventionalized expectations of the role of teachers and students to "normalize" an unusual and undefined situation.

Figure 1 depicts the physical layout of the nursery school with the major ecological areas labelled. In this report we will be concentrating on three areas: playhouses, inside sandbox, and work tables. In Table 1 we have described these three areas regarding the properties discussed earlier. In terms of accoustomed expectations we have noted whether they are crystallized or undefined, whether the expected activities are peer or adult (teacher) dominated, and have presented a brief description of what the expectations are.[2] Regarding conventionalized expectations we note how frequently they are called upon in the particular areas and we

describe the specific conventionalized role relationships and knowledge the children employ in each of the areas. In the next section of this report we will present and analyze sequences from interactive episodes which occurred in these three ecological areas of the nursery school.

Definition and Selection of Interactive Episodes

Throughout this report we have and will be referring to the "interactive episode" as the basic unit of analysis. Although the term interactive episode carries a certain degree of intuitive meaning it is difficult to define precisely and to apply to ongoing interaction. In many respects our conception of "interactive episode" is similar to Goffman's (1963) notion of "encounter" or "face engagement". For Goffman "face engagements comprise all those instances of two or more participants in a situation joining each other openly in maintaining a simple focus of cognitive and visual attention--what is sensed as a single mutual activity, entailing preferential communication rights" (p.89).

Applying Goffman's notion of face engagement to peer interaction in the nursery school would involve the inclusion of all those instances when two or more children in the same ecological area (situation) acknowledge each other's presence and sense that mutual activity is possible. We immediately want to make an extension on Goffman and maintain the episodes begin only when children go beyond mutual acknowledgement and initiate or propose some mode of activity or definition of the situation which serve as the beginnings of mutual activity. In short, an interactive episode begins with overt attempts to arrive at a shared meaning of what interactants are doing or plan to do; mutual acknowledgement of presence is, in terms of the data under analysis here, not enough.

We could stop here and with appropriate modifications of Goffman's definition of face engagement arrive at a working definition of an interactive episode in the nursery school setting. There are, however, some additional problems. If episodes begin with mutual acknowledgements of co-presence and overt attempts to arrive at shared meanings regarding ongoing or planned mutual activity, then the question arises as to when and how episodes end. Goffman's definition tells us little in this regard. Face engagements are defined in terms of initiations not terminations--we must assume that they end when people are somehow no longer in each other's presence. Termination implies some sort of physical movement out of the situation (ecological area) in which the mutual activity occurs. But movement by whom: the original interactants, all but one of any number of interactants, or do we define termination as that state of a lack of mutual activity which results from the physical movement of participating interactants from a specific ecological area?

Things are becoming complex, but we will offer a definition of interactive episode based upon where we are at this point in terms of beginnings and endings, and then go on to specify instances of various types of interactive episodes which routinely occur in the nursery school. In the nursery school interactive episodes are those sequences of behavior which begin with the acknowledged presence of two or more interactants in an ecological area and the overt attempt(s) to arrive at a shared meaning of ongoing or emerging activity. Episodes end with physical movement of interactants from the area which results in the termination of the originally initiated activity.

We refrain from using the term "topic" because pre-school children do not exhibit a clear understanding of topic in their peer conversations. They do, however, seem to organize their behaviors around a set of mutual activities. Mutual activity, along with its initiation and termination, is the key element in the definition of interactive episodes. The initiation and termination of episodes are, however, not simple matters in the nursery school. We will, therefore, briefly consider a few examples in line with the definition which (we hope) will explicate matters somewhat.

Activities which are initiated in an area of the school by particular children often continue in spite of the departure of the original initiators. It is not unusual, and in fact it is frequently the case, that these activities take on a "life of their own" with alternating participants. In terms of our definition the leave-taking of the original initiators does not always mark the termination of the episode. Episodes continue until the leave-taking of participants results in the termination of the originally initiated activity.

Another persistent feature of peer interaction in the nursery school is that multiple activities can, and often do, occur simultaneously within the same ecological area. According to our definition each activity would represent a separate episode. If two ongoing activities should overlap the overlapping segments would be included as part of both episodes.

A final feature of peer interaction which has implications for our definition of episodes involves activity maintenance after and during physical movement to other areas of the school. In this case we have observed that children often maintain an activity when they move to another area while the original activity proceeds with other participants in the original area.

According to our definition of interactive episode the movement to a new area marks the termination of the participation of these children in the original episode, unless they should return to participate in the original activity at some later point in time. Their subsequent behavior in another area is seen as a new and distinct episode from the activity they left behind.

We are well aware of the complexities and difficulties of this definition and its application to ongoing interaction. We believe, however, that a standard intuitive definition of "interactive episode" would only gloss the subtilities of the temporal aspects of the interactive events which routinely occur in the nursery school setting.

The episodes selected for analysis in the next section of the report are representative of the interactive events which routinely occurred in these three specific areas of the school. The analysis of these episodes illustrates the relationship which exists between social context and children's communicative performances.

Ethnographic Context and Procedures

Context

The data for this report were collected from direct observations of children in a nursery school setting. The nursery school is staffed and operated by a state university for education and research purposes, and is located in a large metropolitan city near the university campus. There is a three-year-old and four-year-old group at the school with 25 children in each group. Each group in the university school is staffed by one head teacher who has three full time graduate student assistants. When we began our observations at the start of the school year the children ranged in age from 2.10 to 3.10 for the three-year-old group and 3.10 to 4.10 for the

four-year-old group. The occupational and educational background of parents ranged from blue collar workers to professionals (both university and non-university related), with the majority of the children coming from professional (middle and upper class) families. Minority group children (Mexican-Americans, Blacks, and Asians) were represented, but in proportions much less than the minority population of the city in which the center was located. This discrepancy was not due to lack of recruitment attempts, but primarily resulted from the quarterly tuition fee. This fee, although significantly less than private nursery schools in the area, worked against the participation of lower class children.

Since the university seeks to recruit children with varying backgrounds and because of the research orientation of the school itself we cannot claim that these two nursery school groups are representative of nursery school children in general. It is true, however, that the majority of naturalistic research on language acquisition or social development (Brown and Bellugi, 1964; Bloom, 1970; Denzin, 1972; Miller and Ervin, 1964; and Piaget, 1955 and 1962 just to name a few) were based on observations of small groups of children whose participation resulted from willingness, convenience, and the special contextual features necessary to carry on intensive ethnographic research. It is our belief that such studies, although limited in generalizability to larger populations, are essential for the generation of theoretical propositions in the area of childhood socialization.

Procedure

Of central importance to any study based on the analysis of interactive events is the representativeness of the data in regard to the everyday worlds of the social actors under study. As we noted above the

range of generalizations one can make regarding the nursery school sample is limited. However, we must also be aware of the generalizability of the observations we make in regard to the nursery school setting itself. This concern centers around the notion of theoretical sampling (see Glaser and Strauss, 1968), a process involving the grounding of theoretical propositions about peer interaction in the data itself. Decisions regarding which interactive episodes should be videotaped were based upon the isolation of the consistent patterns of interaction. The isolation of these patterns resulted from the ethnographic work which preceded and accompanied the videotaping.

The first three weeks in the nursery school were spent observing the children from behind a one-way screen which runs the length of the school. The first few days of this period involved becoming acquainted with the daily routine of the school (what the children did and when and where they did it), getting to know the children's names, observing where certain types of activities consistently occurred, and noting the development of play and friendship groups. In the latter phase of this time period we recorded the topics or activities, number of participants, locations, and durations of spontaneous peer interactive events (interactions initiated and maintained by the children).

After the first three weeks we moved into the school. It was our aim to "actively enter the worlds" of the children under study (see Denzin, 1971). Such an entry was necessary for several reasons. First, it was important that the children perceive us as different from the teachers. This differentiation was necessary because if the children viewed us as authority figures they would then suppress certain types of behavior for fear of negative reactions. Secondly, once videotaping began the obtrusiveness of the equipment was a much easier problem to handle because the children

were used to our presence. As a result they readily accepted our explanations for the presence of the equipment. Finally, and most importantly, becoming a part of the children's world helped us to gain insight into what most mattered to them in their everyday interactions in the nursery school. This knowledge was essential in both the isolation of patterns in field notes, as well as the later analysis and interpretation of the videotapes.

The main strategy for becoming a part of the children's world was to continually make ourselves available and allow the children to react to us. Although this sounds like a simple strategy its effectiveness stems from the fact that adults seldom do this in the nursery school. Most adults either direct the children in play, help them in times of trouble, or tell them what they can or cannot do. The children soon became curious about us and after awhile they wanted to know who we were. They were always mystified at our ability to tell them not only who we were, but also who they were (their names). This ability gave us a special status at first and the fact that we followed their lead rather than initiated interaction enabled us to fit into ongoing peer interaction with little or no disruption.

After two weeks in the nursery school the research moved into a new phase. We now spent the majority of our time in participant observation.[3] We would become a part of peer interactive events as they occurred in various ecological areas of the school. We often took notes on the spot of various features of the interaction: verbatim verbal exchanges, substantive comments about the nature of the activities, and the names of the children involved. We spent the end of each day summarizing and filling in these notes relying on our recollections of the specific events. Sampling was based on ecological areas in which the interaction occurred, the types of

activity, and across friendship and age groups. This phase of the research continued for two months. At the end of each week we would review our notes searching for patterns from which we generated inductive theoretical propositions. These propositions were later tested with further field observations and also served as the basis for the theoretical sampling of videotaped interactive events.

After the two months of participant observation we introduced the video equipment (one camera, videorecorder, and microphones) into the nursery school. During the first week we set up the equipment on three days, but recorded only for testing purposes. During this week we were able to work out the audio and video problems which are difficult to anticipate until you actually do some recording. During this first week we also answered any questions the children had concerning the equipment, and obtained a good estimation of the degree of obtrusiveness. The children were, for the most part, unconcerned with the presence of the camera, which was mounted on a tripod a good distance from the play areas, or the microphones which were hung in certain areas of the school. They did, however, want to talk into the microphone if we sat next to them holding it, which was often a necessity due to background noise. To handle this problem we simply let the children talk. They usually laughed, sang, or became shy and said nothing at all. After these performances they then went back to what they were doing before noticing the microphone.

After this initial breaking-in period we videotaped at least twice a week for the next four months and continued the regular ethnographic work on other days. Sampling decisions were based on the earlier and on-going field work. We attempted to sample interactive episodes from beginning to end in all of the ecological areas of the school. After each day's taping

the data were reviewed and then summarized. In the summaries we specified the number of episodes, where and when they took place, the topic of activity, who participated, and the duration in terms of minutes and the number of utterances. Overall we collected 27 hours of videotaped interactive data.

Analysis

The study of children's communicative performances in specified social contexts is essential for determining how children produce and understand normative behavior (see Cicourel, 1974). We will examine four interactive episodes which occurred within the three ecological areas described in Table 1 as a means for uncovering the cognitive processes and communicative strategies children employ in the ordered production of socially intended action.

Playhouses

Children enter the playhouse area with highly crystallized accoustomed expectations. Children know that role play usually occurs in this area, and that it involves the manipulation of the objects in the area (tables, chairs, stove, dishes, et. cet.). Once the children enter, make claim to the area, and gather the appropriate objects, they are ready "to set the scene" for the family role play which then begins to unfold. It is at this point that the children rely on conventionalized expectations to structure ongoing interaction.

In the interactive episode selected for analysis a boy (B, age 4.2) and a girl (R, age 3.9) have just entered the upstairs playhouse carrying purses and suitcases. They have allocated the roles of husband and wife as they gathered the materials before going upstairs. They also saw two boys C (3.8) and D (3.8) pretending to be kitties in front of the downstairs play-

house. As they moved upstairs B referred to C and D as "our kitties", but there was no formal negotiation between B and R or among B, R, C, and D regarding the status of the kitties. Videotaping began as B and R arrived upstairs. We begin our analysis with the first audible utterance.[4]

Transcription	Description
(1) B-R: I told--I told our kitties--	B and R are in playhouse. R kneeling on floor in front of B trying to open a purse.
(2) R-B: This is the wallet	
(3) B-R: Hey, I told-ah--um-- I told our little--our kitties come back from-- from our trip. Our kitties.	
(4) R-B: Open this.	R is referring to wallet she has removed from the purse.
(5) B-R: I can't. I'm too tired	B gestures waving arm downward.
(6) B-R: Kitties are playing in the backyard, right?	
(7) R-B: Yeah.	
(8) R-B: They play down there in the backyard.	R points down to C and D in front of the downstairs playhouse as she says this.

This initial sequence (1-8) centers around B's attempt to negotiate a shared meaning with A regarding the status of the kitties. At 3 B makes a claim on the kitties ("our kitties"), and informs R that he told the kitties about returning from a trip. We did not observe B's informing the kitties of any such trip before he and R went upstairs. It appears that B is anticipating that the kitties (C and D) will come upstairs. Meanwhile R is more concerned with the contents of the wallet (4) which B refuses to open saying he is too tired (5). B returns to a discussion of the kitties (6) and his utterance is important in several respects. First, he again makes a claim on ownership of the kitties by saying they are in the backyard. Since the

backyard is part of their house (B's and R's) the kitties are, therefore, their kitties. What B is doing is relying on the background knowledge (conventionalized expectations) he assumes R shares with him. The reference to kitties in the backyard is a form of a membership categorization device (see Sacks, 1970) B employs as he works toward setting the scene for the role play which is now emerging. Secondly, B has switched from the declarative to the interrogative employing a "tag question". In so doing he obliges R to respond to his claim on the kitties rather than to continue fussing with the purse. This strategy is successful in that R confirms and repeats B's claim on the kitties at 7-8. We pick up on the interaction at utterance 11.

Transcription	Description
(11) B-R: This is our little room, right?	G has placed blankets on bed and suitcases and purses on floor in front of bed. R still tries to open wallet. B then gets a crib and places it alongside of bed blocking off the area from rest of house.
(12) R-B: Right.	
(13) B-R: We'll block this up.	
(14) R-B: Here--here's a--	R is standing and offers purse to B. B takes purse from R and places it near bed.
(15) R-B: Don't leave this. This is our mixer, right?	R picks up spoon from floor and places it on table in center of room.
(16) B-R: Right.	
(17) B-R: Put this here.	B places another purse near the bed.

(20) B-R: This is our special room right?	
(21) R-B: Right.	
(22) B-R: This is our little room we sleep in, right?	B is now sitting on bed.
(23) R-B: Our little room. Our--	R is holding a doll. At this point C and D enter playhouse and R turns to look at them.
(24) C-RB: We're the kitty family.	C and D are crawling and "Meowing".
(25) R-CD: Here kitty-kitty. Here kitty-kitty.	C and D crawl near R meowing.
(26) R-B: Yeah, here's our two kitties.	
(27) B-D: Kitty you can't come in this room.	D crawls near bed as C knocks something from the table.
(28) R-D: Here do-do.	D scratches at R as C crawls into the blocked-off area.
(29) B-C: No! No!	C leaves area and crawls to stairs with D following.
(30) B-CD: Go on! Get down in the backyard.	
(31) R-CD: Get down in the back-yard you two cats!	C begins crawling downstairs. D follows but then hesitates at top of the stairs. R is standing behind D
(32) R-D: Go down! Down! Down!	
(33) D-RB: No, I'm the kitty. I'm the kitty.	B has joined R at top of the stairs
(34) Go! RRR---	
(35) B-D: Go! Back.	
(36) R-D: RRR--RRR	
(37) B-D: Go back in the back-yard. Ya! Ya!	

(38)	R-D: You get in the back-yard. Ya! Ya!	
(39)	B-D: Chow! Chow! Go.	D starts down stairs.
(40)	R-D: Go--go! Chow!	D is downstairs with C.
(41)	B-D: Go in the backyard, we're busy!	B has moved to front of house and is looking down at C and D. R is standing behind B.
(42)	R-B: They was--rough on us.	R moves away from front of house toward bed.

In the sequence 11-17 the children are "setting the scene" and preparing for the arrival of the kitties. The language style they employ in this stretch of dialogue reflects the crystallization of their accustomed expectations regarding play in this area. The children are not describing their actions, but are continually offering up plans of action for confirmation by way of the tag question. The temporal aspects of what is happening here are important. B's blocking off the room will have implications for the activity which emerges with the arrival of the kitties.

The kitties enter at 24 and C identifies D and himself as the "kitty family" for purposes of initiation, then does not speak again (kitties only meow). The children readily fall into appropriate role behavior; the kitties immediately become a nuisance doing exactly what they are told not to do (28-30), and the husband and wife (B and R) take on the authority which is embedded in their statuses as masters of the pet kitties. The intonation and stress patterns in these commands make this claim to authority clear to all the interactants. The kitties finally leave (41) and with R's remark at 43 we get the impression that she expected the kitties to give them a hard time, but in this instance they were especially difficult.

Overall the analysis of this sequence, drawn from a lengthy interactive episode, shows that the children had a conception of the nature and flow of the interaction before it began to unfold. They relied on communicative strategies like tag questions, intonation and stress patterns, and membership categorization devices to instruct one another regarding what they were doing, while the interaction flows within a general framework based on shared conventionalized expectations. By flow of interaction we are referring to the sequencing of phases or chunks of behavior. In this instance a movement through four phases to this point in the interactive episode: (1) the claiming of the playhouse area; (2) the allocation of roles; (3) "setting the scene" by arranging objects in the setting and offering up plans of action; and (4) the direct involvement in role behavior with strict adherence to status differentiation and the exertion of authority.

Inside Sandbox

Play in the building block area and around the inside and outside sandboxes often took the form of spontaneous fantasy. In this type of play children become animals, race car drivers, train engineers, construction workers, and monsters, structuring the activity as it emerges. The accustomed expectations children carry into these play areas were not well defined. The children knew that they played with certain objects (animals, cars, trains, building blocks, etc.), but they seldom carried a specific plan of action into the area. The activity emerged in the process of verbal negotiation and conventionalized expectations, although referred to from time to time throughout an episode, were not relied upon continually to structure the activity. Play in these areas contrasts sharply with play in other areas of the school where conventionalized expectations set the nature

and flow of the interaction (i.e. playhouses). Here the children rely on language ("talking") to create and sustain ordered social productions.

We have selected for analysis one episode of spontaneous fantasy which occurred around the inside sandbox. Three children R, a girl (age 3.9), L, a girl (age 3.6), and C, a boy (age 3.8) kneel around the sandbox playing with animals. Videotaping began soon after the children started playing in this area.[5]

Transcription	Description
(1) R-CL: Help! Help! I'm in the forest!	R is moving a horse up and down in a hopping fashion.
(2) C-L: (Inaudible)	
(3) L-C: (Inaudible)	
(4) C-LR: After you madam into this fence.	C moves rabbit in hopping fashion near center of sandbox.
(5) L-R: Where's your home?	L has goat in hand which she places next to R's horse.
(6) C-LR: Into this sandpile.	C moves rabbit into sand.
(7) L-RC: In here!	L moves goat to top of sandpile.
(8) C-LR: Into this--	C removes rabbit from sand and places it near L's goat.
(9) R-CL: Into this hole!	R moves horse near C's rabbit. Then L and R put their animals in sand and cover them. R hums: "do-do-de" as they do this. C watches with rabbit in hand near top of sandpile.

The three children employed paralinguistic cues to signify to each other that they were taking the role of the animals they moved in the sandbox. These cues include high pitch, heavy stress at the ends of utterances, and rising intonation (1, 4, and 5). The children begin to structure

the fantasy play when C suggests they move into the sandpile (6). L responds (7) by moving her goat onto the sand and R joins the activity at 9. At this point the children are playing together and have formed a foundation on which to build future interaction. The interactive episode is, however, just beginning to emerge. There are no suggestions offered regarding a plan of action, rather the children rely on the responses of their interactive partners to signify that they are playing together and must fit into the interaction with appropriate responses when necessary. Appropriateness is, in this case, context-bound and spontaneous in that the children build the interaction by plugging into and then expanding upon the contributions of their interactive partners.

(10) C-LR: This is our b--i--g home! And I-I'm a freezing squirrel.	C moves rabbit up and down and then begins burying rabbit in the sand while L gets another animal and buries it.
(11) R-CL: And this got out. And I'm freezing. Whoop--whoop--whoop--whoop!	R takes horse out of sand and holds it up. She then moves horse up and down, down with each whoop.
(12) L-R: Get in the house.	L smoothes sand so pile is higher. C helps L smooth sand.
(13) R-CL: Oh--wow--get in the house!	R puts horse in sand and covers it.
(14) R-CL: Oh, look it's raining. Gonna rain.	R now picks up a handful of sand and sprinkles it onto the pile.
(15) C-RL: Rain. It's gonna be a rainstorm!	C takes his rabbit out of the sand.
(16) R-CL: Yeah.	
(17) C-RL: And lightening. Help!	
(18) C-RL: But I won't be hit though--cause lightening only hits a biggest--bigger--will hit our house cause it's the biggest thing!	C now moves his rabbit away from sand to other side of box.

(19) C-RL: Cause our house is made of--

(20) C-LR: Going--going--

(21) C-LR: But our house is made of steel. So the lightening just fall to the ground.

(22) R-CL: Yeah.

At 10, C introduces the idea that the sandpile can be a home for the animals, and that he (the animal he is holding) is a freezing squirrel. C stresses the adjective "b--i--g" stretching it out to mark his transformation of the sandpile into a home for the animals. At 11 R takes an animal from the sand and connects her activity to C's by repetition of the phrase "I'm freezing". R is tying her interactive contribution to C's earlier one by repeating C's original idea (the animals are freezing when outside the house). L takes a conversational turn (12) telling R "to get in the house" (put her animal in). Here we have an expansion of C's original semantic notion in that L is telling R that it will be warmer inside. R responds appropriately (13) by putting her horse into the sand. The interesting thing about this utterance is that she is describing her action (what she is doing) as she carries it out. We have found that children consistently provide verbal descriptions of their behavior at various points in spontaneous fantasy and that these verbal descriptions also appear (but less frequently) in other play activities. The description of ongoing activity is important in spontaneous fantasy in that it cues other interactants to what is presently occurring as well as provides possibilities for plugging into and expanding upon the emerging social event.[6]

In utterance 14 we have a good example of why we have termed this activity spontaneous fantasy. As R was covering her horse with sand she

noticed that the sand was falling on the pile like raindrops, and said: "Oh, look it's raining. Gonna rain." The emergence of the rainstorm was spontaneous and unpredictable, it occurred because R happened to be dropping the sand from above rather than scooping it onto the pile. R's verbal marking of what she is doing provides for the organization of her behavior and a semantic base on which the other children can now build. This is just what C does (15-21), first marking R's new addition to the interaction (15) and receiving R's confirmation (16). C then goes on to add "lightening" to the rainstorm plus a suggestion for how to avoid being struck by the lightening (leaving the house, 17-18). C goes on to expand the idea a bit further (21) where he seems to be approximating a description of a "lightening rod."

The activity around the sandbox, what we call spontaneous fantasy, illustrates how children use language to create and sustain social interactive events. In this type of play children cannot simply rely on conventionalized expectations since each interactive event is spontaneous and novel. They, therefore, employ specific communicative strategies to cue each other to the emerging meanings of their cooperative play. These strategies include: (1) the use of paralinguistic cues to signify fantasy (i.e. taking the role of the animals); (2) the use of repetition and expansion to structure the emerging interaction; (3) the use of semantic tying as a means of expanding the contributions of interactive partners; and (4) the verbal descriptions of their behaviors as they occur. Participation in spontaneous fantasy requires social interactants continually to "take account of one another." This may be the reason that the episodes of spontaneous fantasy we witnessed and/or videotaped were usually dyadic or triadic in terms of active participation. Although we observed this limitation regarding number of interactants, we found no consistent pattern regarding age of participants (i.e.

older children did not participate in this activity more often than younger children).

Work Tables

A key contextual feature of the work table area is the continual presence of teachers. Teachers are present to initiate and maintain the arts and crafts activities which routinely occur in this area of the nursery school. We observed and recorded numerous interactive episodes in this area, in every case communication among peers was limited compared to other areas of the school. We repeatedly observed teacher (adult) control of the nature, flow, and direction of the interaction in this area. A sequence drawn from one videotaped interactive episode at the work tables is illustrative of the conversations which routinely occurred in this area of the school. Two teachers, Td and Te are at a work table with 4 children (3 boys, D, age 4.3; L, age 4.8; and P, age 4.4; and 1 girl, B, age 4.7). The children are making pictures by squirting paint from plastic bottles onto pieces of cardboard. We pick up on the interaction shortly after the start of the episode.

Transcription	Description
(32) Td-LAll: This is all the paint that's left for the rest of these pictures and if we use it all up then there won't be any to share so let's--let's make skinny pictures, OK L?	P now enters scene and sits next to L. L does not seem to respond to Td's question verbally or non-verbally.
(33) D-Td: Look what I'm doing.	D is at end of table, while B is at opposite end and L and P are on the side sitting across from Td. Te is near D but off-camera.

(34) Td-D: Yeah; that's nice.

(35) Te-D: Yeah, that's like the ones we made yesterday.

(36) Td-All: Some of the children made beautiful pictures. L made a beautiful one yesterday, didn't you, L?

Beautiful pictures stressed with exaggerated intonation. L does not seem to respond.

(37) Td-Te: They're the same thing.

Te had reached for a piece of cardboard and Td says this as she hands her another piece.

(38) Td-B: You done, huh? You done, B?

(39) B-Td: Yeah.

Td reaches back to get another piece of cardboard for B.

(40) Te-D: I think that's ( ), or is it purple?

(41) B-Td: (Inaudible)

(42) Td-B: (Inaudible)

Td places a piece of cardboard in front of B.

(43) Td-B: Here B.

(44) Td-B: You wanna make (another one)?

(45) L-Td: Pass the blue.

(46) Td-L: There isn't any blue, it's all purple today.

(47) L-Td: Un-huh.

(48) Td-L: It's all purple.

Td passes a bottle of purple to L. L takes bottle.

(49) Te-D: It looks like blue, but I don't think it's blue.

Te is sitting off camera.

(50) P-All: (Inaudible)

(51) L-All: I know it will be when--

L squirts purple from bottle.

(52) P-All: It's mustard--

(53) L-All: It's--that's blue.

(54) P-L: Then that's mustard. P points to bottle on table.

(55) Td-P: Yeah, that looks like mustard.

(56) Td-All: We don't have ketchup today, do we?

(57) ?-Td: (Un-huh).

(58) B-Td: Which one is ketchup?

(59) Td-B: Well it was red but there's not any red, just pink like P's got.

(60) L-P: (I need pink). Red. L reaches for P's bottle.

(61) P-L: No, (there's more). Points toward Td.

(62) B-All: Please pass the ketchup.

The first thing to note in this transcript is who talks to whom. Peer interaction is limited, of the 28 audible utterances there were only 4 which were child-child. (53-54 and 60-61). Of the 28 utterances 15 were teacher-child. The teachers' utterances are all similar in that they center around the maintenance and control of the children's participation. There were 6 questions: tag questions at 32, 36, 38, and 56; a leading question at 40, and what appears to be a directive question at 44.[8] In this sequence adult tag questions are used to control the behavior of the children (32), to request confirmation of an observation (36), and to direct the flow of interaction (56). The basic difference between adult and child use of the tag question is that in peer interaction children employ tag questions in the process of negotiation to arrive at a shared meaning; while in adult-child sequences adults use tags to have the child confirm their interpretations of on-going events.

Of the remaining 9 adult-child utterances 5 were responses to children's requests for behavior (46, 48, and 49) or recognition of task perfor-

mance (34, and 35). When we look at the children's utterances which were directed to the teachers we find that of the 6 utterances there were 3 responses to adult questions or observations (39, 57, and 47), 1 request for attention (33), and 1 information request (58). Of the 6 utterances only the information request is a topical contribution and even it results from an idea introduced by one of the teachers (56).

We are, of course, working with a short sequence here, but this sort of distribution in terms of number and type of utterances is representative of the overall distributions we found in the interactive episodes we videotaped in this area of the school. The important point is that children play a limited role in the initiation, construction, and maintenance of social interaction in this ecological area of the school. The achievement of ordered produccions in this area is the result of how the teachers address and respond to the children. The fact that children do little interactional work in this setting results from the accoustomed expectations they carry into the setting and the presence and interactive behavior of the teachers. Children's interactive performances in adult dominated settings can often be a poor basis for inferring the children's level of interactive competence (see Corsaro, 1974, 1975).

An Undefined Context

The last sequence of interaction we will analyse is of a special nature in that it occurred in a situation which departs from the typical pattern. Work tables are normally located in a certain area of the school and contain some sort of arts and crafts projects and the presence of a teacher who directs the activity. In this sequence two girls, B (3.4) and M (3.5), see and then move toward a table which is away from the others with

no teacher in the vicinity. A boy, Bi (4.2), is at the table and had been playing briefly before the two girls arrived. Bi had verbally marked the table as his "police station" to one of the teachers and some other children (not B and M) before the girls approached the table.

The interesting feature of this interactive episode is that the children's accoustomed expectations about what happens at work tables are "upset" because of the absence of a teacher and the location of the table in another area of the school. The interaction which emerged illustrates how children attmept to "normalize" (see Cicourel, 1970 and Garfinkel, 1967) the situation by utilizing both accoustomed and conventionalized expectations:[9]

Transcription	Description
(1) M-B: We just kids--huh--B, right?	B, M, and Bi are at a work table which has been moved near front of downstairs playhouse. B and M have just arrived while Bi had been playing alone at the table. All three are working with pens, stapler, crayons, and scissors. Bi is seated and M and B are standing.
(2) B-M: Yes.	
(3) B-Bi: Where's the pen?	B moves papers looking for pen. Bi does not respond and continues to draw. M now turns and looks at another girl who is making a great deal of noise as she passes the table.
(4) B-M: We're teaching how the kids to write.	M does not respond and moves off-camera to get more paper.
(5) B-Bi: I making this.	B is writing with a pen. M is off-camera during this exchange between B and Bi.
(6) Bi-B: We're police officers.	Bi is cutting out a paper hat as he says this.

(7) Bi-B: And this is my desk.	Bi stands up as he says this.
(8) M-B: We gonna make a book, right?	M says this as she returns with a stapler.
(9) Bi-B: This is my paper.	Bi puts paper under his arm,
(10) Bi-MB: I'm gonna go and march.	Bi stresses march and then marches off after he completes his utterance.
(11) B-M: Will you give me the scissors?	B and M do not look up or respond to Bi's leaving.

In the opening utterance of this episode M is drawing on accoustomed expectations about what"normally" happens at the work tables (I.E. teachers teach kids to write). With this tag question M not only calls on the accoustomed expectations of B, but also offers a program for behavior up to B for confirmation which B does confirm (2). B deals with the problem of a lost pen (3), and then builds on M's definition of the situation at 4 offering an interpretation which involves role reversal. (I.E. B and M are teachers not kids). B's utterance is interesting because it takes into account the "disorderliness" of the present situation; a disorderliness which allows the children to expand upon and transform accoustomed expectations in line with conventionalized expectations about teacher-student (kid) interaction.

While B and M are in the process of defining the situation, Bi offers them an alternative definition based upon his activity prior to their arrival on the scene. Although markers of territorial rights or protection of ongoing activity emerge in all of the ecological areas of the school, Bi's marker in this instance is more essential in that the untypicality of this situation offers a wide range of definitions. Bi's utterances at 6 and 7 serve to set boundaries around possible definitions, at least from his

point of view.

In the last three utterances we see that Bi's claim to the area is ignored and he decides to leave (10). We also see in M's tag question (8) that M and B are still in the process of defining the situation in line with their accoustomed expectations about what normally happens at the work tables.

After handling the problem of a broken stapler B and M then briefly talk with a teacher (Tr) who comes over to help them pick up paper and a pair of scissors which were on the floor under the work table. As she starts to leave the scene the teacher makes note of the unusual features of the situation (i.e. work table separated from others with no teacher present).

(30) Tr-BM: That's good you have your own desk over here for working at.	Tr leaves after this utterance. A boy, J (4.2) now approaches table and then moves some distance away from playhouse. B leaves briefly, then returns with a sheet of paper.
(31) B-M: This is our desk. Nobody can come in our office!	Immediately after this utterance J pulls out a chair and sits down at the table. B and M do not respond to J's entrance.
(32) M-B: No. We show the kids, right?	M moves off-camera after this utterance, then returns with tape. Both B and M continue to ignore J who sits at table coloring.
(33) B-M: We working.	
(34) M-B: Yeah.	
(35) B-M: Nobosy can come in!	J is in and working but ignored.
(36) M-B: No.	Meaning nobody can come in. B and M are looking at each other as they speak in these exchanges.

(37) B-M: Then We teaching.	
(38) M-B: Right.	
(39) B-JM: No. He not--can't come in.	B's utterance in response to J's reaching for stapler.
(40) M-J: No, no! We're teachers.	M slaps at J's hand as she says no. J grabs stapler and M pulls it away.
(41) M-J: No!	As she takes stapler from J.
(42) M-B: We don't--we're the class--students, right? We're the students, right, B?	J now reaches over and takes B's stapler. B does not notice this.
(43) B-M: We the--	All three work: J staples, B cuts, and M draws.
(44) B-M: What's J doing--he took your stapler. Here.	M noticed that J has B's stapler. M picks up stapler and gives it back to B. Saying "here" as she places it in front of B.
(45) M-B: B?	B now picks up stapler.
(46) M-BJ: J, we don't like that child, right?	M uses J as a sort of topic-comment. Identifying then commenting upon him.
(47) B-M: Right.	
(48) B-M: We getting all this mess up.	B picks up papers from table and moves toward waste basket.
(49) M-B: Yeah, we ( ).	

B immediately picks up on Tr's designation of the desk as "their own" by repeating the claim then excluding all others except M (31). M confirms B's statement and then ties it back into the earlier conversation (showing kids how to make things, 3?). Note how B and M (utterances 33-38) continue to work toward a shared meaning of "what they are doing", while at the same time tying this meaning into the concern with the solidarity of the dyad and the exclusion of others. It is important to note that J's presence

is ignored here because it shows that B and M are more concerned with the negotiation of shared meaning than J's intrusion. In short, the speech act "nobody can come in" is not a warning to possible intruders at this point, but rather a signal to the dyadic partner that the activity is theirs and should be protected. This sequence illustrates the necessity of working with a conception of social context which includes sequential (temporal) features of the unfolding interactive scene.

This interpretation is supported further by the fact that J's intrusion if reacted to only when it directly impinges upon the on-going activity (39-40). Once J's presence is acknowledged overtly M then attempts to tie in J's disruption to the ongoing activity by assigning him a role (bad child or student) in the unfolding scene.

Conclusions

The direct study of spontateous peer interaction within a nursery school reveals the cognitive processes and communicative strategies pre-school children employ to achieve social order in their daily lives. We found that specific properties of social context are part of the information children make note of and utilize in combination with shared background knowledge (conventionalized expectations) to create cultural and normative sense throughout the course of interactive episodes.

A central issue in childhood socialization is, as Cicourel (1974) notes, "how children acquire (the interpretive) ability to articulate an experienced social setting with his or her understanding and memory of abstract rules or norms." Our aim in this paper has been to demonstrate how children employ communicative strategies to connect the accoustomed expectations of the nursery school settings with conventionalized expectations

to generate socially ordered productions. Peer interaction, then, can be viewed as the continual practice of reality production, and is, in turn, an essential process in the child's acquisition of interpretive competence.

Table 1 - Properties of Three Ecological Areas of the Nursery School

Ecological Area	Location and Physical Characteristics	Physical and Social Objects	Accustomed Expectations	Conventionalized Expectations
Playhouses	Inside, back corner of school. Few entry points, little traffic. Upper and lower level apartments. Apartments scaled to size of children. Overall size limits participation to around 5 children at any one time.	Tables, chairs, beds, stove, dishes, etc. Teachers generally not present.	Crystallized. Peer dominated role play (family).	Continually called upon. Role play (family).
Inside Sandbox	Inside, center of room, numerous entry points, great deal of traffic. Children kneel around box which rises about 2' off of floor. Size of sandbox limits participation to around 4 children at any one time.	Toy animals and cars are present to play with in the sand. Teachers generally not present, but often monitoring activity from a distance.	Undefined. Peer dominated fantasy play involving movement and "becoming" animals or race car drivers.	Infrequently called upon in terms of membership categorization devices.
Work Tables	Inside, near entrance to outside yard area. Numerous entry points with a great deal of traffic. Normally three tables aligned in parallel fashion. Size of tables allow for participation of 3 to 6 children at each of the 3 tables.	Creative materials (scissors, paper, pens, crayons, tape, glue, paste, etc.) on or nearby tables. Teachers are always present directing activities.	Crystallized. Teacher dominated. "Making things with teachers."	Frequently called upon in regard to teacher-student activities or role behavior.

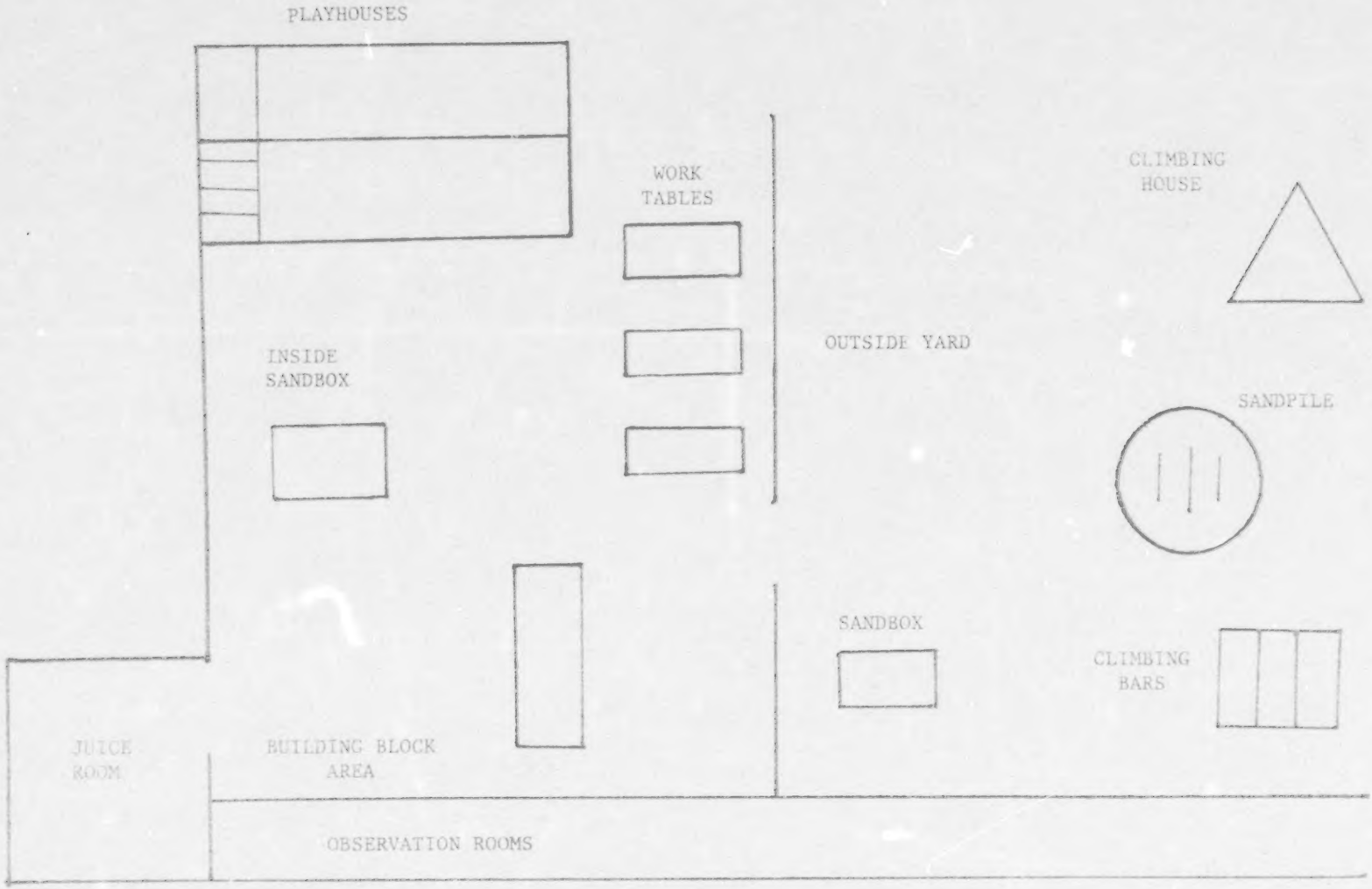

FIGURE 1 Physical Layout of Nursery School

NOTES

1. In some ways this kind of distinction could be compared with that made in the analysis of theatrical performance as "Rhetorical and authenticating conventions."

2. We obtained estimates of the children's accoustomed expectations of the various ecological areas of the school in three ways. First, we observed and recorded the frequency of different types of activities which occurred in the specific areas. Second, we asked the children "what they do" in the various areas. Third, we made note of those instances when two or more children verbally planned or proposed to carry our a specific activity before going to the designated area.

3. Some may question our ability to become participant observers in pre-school peer group activities. One of the authors was involved in peer interaction daily from the second month of the school term to the end of the school year. Although the children often made note of the size difference (you're "bigger" than us or you're "grown up"), the researcher was accepted into play activities without causing major disruptions. Teacher participation in peer activity, on the other hand, was much less frequent and was often marked as "unusual" when it did occur. The video tapes of the specific interactive episodes in which one of the authors was an active participant are the best support for the claim of integration into the peer group activities.

4. In the transcripts literal transcription of what is said appears on the left hand side while a running description of physical movements, features of the setting, and paralinguistic cues are noted on the left hand side.

The following symbols are used throughout this report.

( ) Words inside parenthesis were not clearly heard and should be regarded as probable translations.

---- Denotes pauses in speech; at the end of an utterance signifies that speaker has been interrupted.

[Denotes simultaneous speech.

4. The sequences from the activity in the playhouses were drawn from a lengthy episode. The episode lasted for approximately 29 minutes and there were 465 utterances. A total of 8 children and 1 adult participate at various points throughout the episode. All the activity occurred in either the upstairs or downstairs playhouse.

5. Thesequences from the activity around the inside sandbox were drawn from an interactive episode which lasted approximately 16 minutes with a total of 285 utterances. In all 3 children participated and the activity was confined to the sandbox and a nearby cabinet where the toy animals were stored.

6. An interesting feature of the speech children employ in fantasy play is that at first glance it appears to closely resemble what Piaget (1955) has termed expressive speech (repetition). Without close analysis it is easy to see how an observer might classify this peer activity as collective monologue. We have tried to show that this speech serves definite communicative functions, and that it is social and not egocentric.

7. See Keenan(1974) for a discussion of the importance of repetition and semantic tying in children's conversation.

8. See Corsaro (1975) for a discussion of adult employment of the interrogative with young children.

9. The sequences in this transcript were drawn from an interactive episode which lasted approximately 10 minutes with a total of 150 utterances. In all 6 children and 2 adults participated.

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THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SIGNIFICANCE OF CONVERSATIONAL CODE-SWITCHING

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The Sociolinguistic Significance of Conversational Code-Switching

John J. Gumperz

By conversational code switching, I refer to the juxtaposition of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems, within the same exchange. Most frequently the alternation takes the form of two subsequent sentences, as when a speaker uses a second language either to reiterate his message or to reply to someone else's statement. The following examples are taken from natural talk recorded in bilingual communities. The language pairs in question are Spanish and English (Sp-E), Hindi and English (H-E) and Slovenian and German (Sl-G). Speakers are fluent in both languages and regularly use both in the course of their daily routines.

1. Chicano professionals in California, exchanging goodbyes (Sp-E).

   A. well, I'm glad I met you.
   B. ándale pues (O.K. SWELL).

2. A college student in India, telling an anecdote (H-E).

   A. mãi gəyā jodhpur mẽ (I WENT TO JODHPUR). There is one professor of Hindi there, he is a phonetician. to us-ne pronauns kiyā əpne vais-se (SO HE PRONOUNCED IT IN HIS OWN VOICE).

3. Family conversation in Slovenian village in Austria, talking about a visiting peddler (Sl-G).

   A. točə kuarbcə yə mewa (SHE HAD SUCH BASKETS)
   B. nə najinyan (NO I DON'T BELIEVE IT)
   C. ya ya di mit di kərbalan (THE ONE WITH THE BASKETS)
   B. vinarca yə βoa (SHE WAS VIENESE)
   C. na! di mit di kərbalan? (NO! THE ONE WITH THE BASKETS?)

Each of the above exchanges forms a single unitary interactional whole. Speakers communicate fluently, maintaining an even flow of talk. No hesitation pauses, changes in sentence rhythm, pitch level or intonation contour mark the shift in code. There is nothing in the exchange as a

whole to indicate that speakers don't understand each other. Apart from the alternation itself, the passages have all the earmarks of ordinary conversations in a single language.

Often code switching also takes place within a single sentence as in the next set of examples:

4. Go and get my coat aus dem Schrank da (OUT OF THE CLOSET THERE) (English-German)

5. uzémaš ti kafe (WILL YOU TAKE COFFEE.) oder te? (OR TEA?) (Sl-G)

6. jo wo əccha tīcər hota (ANYONE WHO IS A GOOD TEACHER) he'll come straight to Delhi (H-E)

7. That has nothing to do con que hagan ése (WITH THE FACT THAT THEY'RE DOING THIS) (E-S)

8. Those are friends from Mexico que tienen chamaquitos (WHO HAVE LITTLE CHILDREN) (E-S)

Here phrases with the internal characteristic of two distinct grammatical systems enter into regular syntactic constructions of the topic-comment, noun-noun complement, predicate-predicate complement type. They combine to form one message, the interpretation of which depends on understanding both parts.

Metaphorical and Conversational Usage

The conversational switching described here clearly differs both linguistically and socially from what has been characterized as diglossia in the sociolinguistic literature on bilingualism (Ferguson 1964). In diglossia, code alternation is largely of the situational type, (Blom and Gumperz, 1972). Distinct varieties are employed in certain settings (such as home, school, work) associated with separate bounded kinds of activities (public speaking, formal negotiations, special ceremonials, verbal games, etc.) or spoken with different categories of speakers (friends, family members, strangers, social inferiors, government officials). Although speakers in diglossia situations must know more than one grammatical system to carry on their daily affairs, only one code is employed at any one time.

To be sure in some cases of situational alternation, passages in the two varieties may follow one upon the other within a relatively brief timespan. In the old catholic mass, for example, Latin was interspersed with the local languages. Or in some tribal societies the etiquette of public address may require that something said in one language be translated and repeated in another. Yet the alternation always corresponds to structurally identifiable stages or episodes of a speech event. Both members and linguists agree in assigning each sentence or group of sentences to one code or another. There is a simple, almost one-to-one, relationship between language usage and social context so that each variety can be seen as having a distinct place or function within the local speech repertoire.

Where such compartmentalization of language use occurs, norms of code selection tend to be relatively stable. The rules of etiquette, which govern their use are often taught and breached are subject to overt comment. There is some justification in these cases for dealing with code selection in traditional sociological terms, as a matter of conformance or non-conformance to contextual or situationally determined norms or usage rules (Fishman 1972). Information on such norms can be elicited through questionnaire surveys, language usage diaries or similar self report methods and compared to frequency counts of code incidence in actual texts.

In conversational code switching on the other hand, where as in our example, the items in question form part of the same minimal speech act, and message elements are tied by syntactic and semantic relations apparently identical to those which join passages in a single language, the relationship of language usage to social context is much more complex. While linguists, concerned with grammatical systems as such see the code alternation as highly salient, members, immersed in the interaction itself are often quite unaware which code is used at any one time. Theri main concern is with the communicative effect of what they are saying. Selection among linguistic alternants is automatic, not readily subject to conscious recall. The social norms or rules which govern language usage here at first glance at least seem to function much like grammatical rules. They form part of the underlying knowledge which speakers use to convey meaning. Rather than claiming that speakers use language in response to a fixed,

predetermined set of prescriptions, it seems more reasonable to assume that they build on their own and their audience's abstract understanding of situational norms, to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood (Blom and Gumperz 1972 p 425, Gumperz & Hernandez 1971).

Language Usage and Members' Reports

To ask a bilingual to report directly on the incidence of particular switched forms in a conversational passage is in fact equivalent to and perhaps no more effective than asking an English speaking monolingual tc record his use of -- for example -- future tense forms in messages referring to something that is about to take place. Attempts to elicit such self-report information on bilingual usage regularly show significant discrepancies between speakers' descriptions of their own usage and empirical studies of tape recorded texts.

When residents of a small North Norwegian town were asked to recall which codes they had used in an informal tape recorded conversation, they categorically claimed that they had spoken only the local dialect and not used standard Norwegian, since as they said "everyone in our town speaks only village dialect, except in school, church or in some formal meetings." Yet when tape recordings were examined sentence by sentence, they revealed frequent conversational switching into standard Norwegian. On further questioning, participants referred to their own metaphorical switching as lapses of attention, or failures to live up to village norms, and "promised" that only the village dialect should be used in subsequent discussion sessions. Yet tape recordings of these later sessions, showed no significant decrease in the amount of switching.

In the same vein, some Spanish English bilinguals living in a Puerto Rican neighborhood in Jersey City, consistently claim that they speak only Spanish at home and English at work. Yet tapes of their informal conversations showed a great deal of metaphorical switching. In interview sessions where conversational code switching is discussed, speakers tend to express widely different attitudes. Some characterize it as an extreme form of language mixing or linguistic borrowing attributable to lack of education, bad manners or improper control of the two grammars.

Others see it as a legitimate style of informal talk. For the most part members have no readily available words or discriptive terms to characterize the process of switching as such. Whatever words exist take the form of stereotypical labels which vary in meaning with changing attitudes.

In Texas and throughout the American South West, wehre code switching is common among Mexical Americams, the derogative term Tex-Mex is widely used. In French Canada the word "joual" has similar stigmatizing connotations. Montréal buses, some time ago carried the slogan "Bien parler est bien penser" (To speak right is to think right) reflecting the official attitudes which according to local linguists are by no means shared by all sectors of the population.

When political ideology changes, attitudes to code switching may change also. In California and elsewhere in the South West 'pocho' or 'caló' serve as a perjorative term for the Spanish of local Chicanos. But with the awakening of ethnic consciousness and the growing pride in local folk traditions, these speech styles and the code switching they imply have become symbolic of Chicano ethnic values. Pocho or caló are now increasingly and quite effectively used in the modern Chicano poetry and prose which seeks to depict the California experience.

Until quite recently perjorative attitudes to code switching were also found among many students of folk culture. Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblet, in an article on narrative performances among Jews in Canada analyzes several instances of dialect humor in which the juxtaposition of Yiddish and English phrases serves to create humourous effect. Yet she notes that many folklorists refuse to recognize this type of material as a legitimate form of Yiddish. Nathan Asubel, author of the well-known A Treasury of Jewish Folklore refers to the "large body of Jewish dialect jokes which are not Jewish at all but which are the confections of anti-semites who delight in ridiculing the Jews." (1972)

In the linguistic literature on bilingualism, conversational code switching tends to be treated primarily as a marginal or transitory phenomenon, a type of linguistic interference which accompanies the learning of a new grammatical system. Existing studies are for the most part concerned either with language change or second language acquisition and tend to concentrate on identification of the type of structures that can

be exchanged and on the linguistic and extralinguistic factors that "trigger" the switch (Haugen 1973). That code switching serves to convey semantically significant information in verbal interaction has not been systematically considered. The purpose of the present study is to focus on these semantic aspects of code switching; to show how speakers and listeners utilize both social and grammatical knowledge in interpreting bilingual conversations.

Some Social Uses of Conversational Code Swtiching

Existing descriptive and historical information on bilingualism provides little support for the contention that code switching is either historically transitory or a mere matter of individual choice. A recent survey by Timm (1975) which reviews much of the recent literature on the subject, cites evidence going back to the early middle ages. During the last few centuries the practice has been noticed throughout the world in many situations of language and culture contact. Literary histories of seventeenth century Germany, nineteenth century Russia and Edwardian England describe the speech habits of upper class speakers whose German, Russian or English is interspersed with French phrases. In our own time many urban residents of the ex-colonial countries of Asia and Africa freely alternate between their own tongue and one of the world languages.

Code switching is perhaps most frequent in the informal speech of those speakers of minority languages in modern metropolitan centers who use the majority language at work and when dealing with members of groups other than their own. All these are cases of rapid transition where traditional barriers are breaking down and norms of interaction are changing. Eventually such traditional situations tend to lead to the displacement of one language variety by the other. Yet bilingualism in any one population often persists for several generations. Furthermore, as old populations assimilate, now foreign language speakers move in and other types of bilingualism arise. Thus there is little indication that code switching will soon disappear. On the contrary, with the increasing displacement of formerly stable populations and the growing ethnic diversification of metropolitan centres the communicative uses of code switching are more likely to increase than to decrease.

The bilingual exchanges we have examined furthermore show that code switching does not necessarily indicate imperfect knowledge of the grammatical systems in question. Only in relatively few passages is code alternation motivated by a speaker's inability to find words to express what he/she wants to say in one of the other code. In the great majority of cases, the code-switched information could be equally well expressed in either language. Something may be said in one code and reiterated in the other code elsewhere in the same conversation. Considerations of intelligibility, lucidity or ease of expression, important as they are in some cases, can therefore not be the main determining reasons. Nor is educational inferiority an important factor.

The bulk of our examples come from the everyday talk of urbanized professionals, students and other educated speakers, who know both languages well. The individuals in question live in ethnically and culturally diverse settings and spend much of their day interacting with others of different linguistic backgrounds. To be effective at work or in business, they must have near native control of the majority language. Yet at the same time they also actively participate in functioning ethnically based peer, friendship or kinship networks, which stress separate values, beliefs, communicative norms and conventions.

It is this overtly marked separation between in and out group standards which perhaps best characterize the bilingual experience. The problem if not merely one of cultural differentiation such as one finds among geographically separated societies. What distinguishes the bilingual from his monolingual neighbor is the juxtaposition of styles: the awareness that his own mode of behavior is only one of several possible modes, that interpretation of what a speaker intends to communicate depends on the style of communication, that there are others with different communicative conventions and standards of evaluation which must not only be taken into account but can also be imitated or mimicked for special communicative effect. The juxtaposition of cultural standards is most evident in in-group activities where participants are bilingual. While in relation with outsiders, of necessity, only the majority style prevails, in bilingual situations the participants' awareness of alternative communicative conventions becomes a resource, which can be built on to lend subtlety to

what is said. Much conversation in such settings, as Claudia Mitchell-Kernan points out (1971), is in fact marked by explicit or implicit allusions to what 'the others' do or think.

The Empirical Study of Conversational Switching

At the most general level it can be said that grammatical distinctions which mark the bilingual's two codes directly reflect or signal the contrasting cultural styles and standards of evaluation which they encounter in daily interaction. The tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the "we code" and become associated with in-group and informal activities, while the majority language serves as the "they code" associated with be more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations. But it must be emphasized that, in situations such as those discussed here, this association bewteen communicative style and group identity is a symbolic one, it does not directly predict actual usage. There is no one-to-one relationship between the occurrence of a particular set of linguistic forms and a certain extra-linguistic context. Only in relatively few interaction situations, such as for example in contacts with older monolinguals, with very small children, or for certain highly ritualized activities, is only one code appropriate. Elsewhere a variety of options occur and interpretation of messages, as with conversations in general, is in large part a matter of discourse context, social presuppositions and speakers background knowledge.

Because of this, there are a number of empirical difficulties in describing members' perceptions of what count as instances of "we" and "they" codes which the analyst must face. To begin with, code switching must be separated from loan word usage or borrowings. Borrowing consists of the introduction of simgle words or short frozen, idiomatic phrases from one language into the other. The items in question are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. They are treated as part of its lexicon, take on its morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structures. Code switching by contrast relies on the meaningful juxtaposition of what speakers must process as strings formed according to the internal syntactic rules of two distinct systems.

Loan words differ from native words primarily in etymological origin.

Existing studies of borrowing are somewhat unclear as to the degree to which a word must be integrated into a grammatical system to count as an item in that system. There are always some items, such as the English nice (from Latin nescius) which, although clearly identifiable al loans on historical grounds, can for all intents and purposes count as regular parts of the native vocabulary. Others continue to be seen as foreign, either because they are recent in origen or because they retain some perceivable non-native characteristics. The word 'ticɔr' (teacher) in example 6 above, for instance, has a recognizably English phonological shape and, when quoted in isolation, might be classed as an English word. Yet is this example it functions as a Hindi term since it obeys Hindi number and gender concord rules. Some other seemingly marginal cases are:

9. Er hat das gefixt. HE FIXED IT. (German)

10. usne fix kiyā. HE FIXED IT. (Hindi)

11. yɔs grɛn mit. I GO ALONG. (Slovenian)

12. hice klaim. HE CLIMBED (Spanish)

13. nā hiyð-mẽ, nā šiyo-mẽ thā. HE WAS NEITHER WITH THE MEN NOR THE WOMEN. (Hindi)

In item nine the underlined borrowed verb stem takes on German prefixes and suffixes, while in item ten the same English stem "fix" forms a compound verb with the Hindi "kiya" serving as the inflected auxiliary. Notice that all our loans obey the grammatical rules of the borrowing language. English words as "datum" (plural:data) and "cactus" (plural:cacti) are only apparent axceptions to this, since although they take a borrowed plural suffix, they nevertheless obey English agreement rules.

Item thirteen seems even odder. Here the English pronouns "he" and "she" are borrowed, become Hindi nouns and take on regular Hindi case endings. (Kachandani 1974). It is interesting to note that HIndi personal pronouns do not show gender distinctions. In examples eleven and twelve loan items participate in what itself is a borrowed syntactic construction. But such borrowed separable prefix constructions can also occur with native lexical items. The "mit" acts as a separable prefix on the pattern of German "ich gehe mit" (I go along). The similar case of borrowing like

"hice klaim" is discussed in a recent paper by Reyes (1974).

While the loan words discussed so far are always phonetically assimilated into the borrowing system, ther are some cases where phonologically unassimilated items from a high prestige foreign language are inserted as marked expressions into an otherwise monolingual passage. Examples are: "She is a grande dame"; "He has great savoir faire". Here speakers may pronounce grande with French-like nasalization or emphasize the fricative "r" in "savoir" and thus be conscious use of foreign sounds suggest refinement or ridicule. The semantic effect here is similar to metaphorical code switching. For the most part however, these examples are isolated cases, quite different from the constant alternation which marks code switching in bilingual communities.

A further descriptive problem arises from the fact that as our discussion of attitudes to language usage suggests norms of grammaticality vary greatly with respect to both borrowings and code switching. Bilingual speech is highly receptive to loans. Items which are in general use in bilingual communities are often unknown and unacceptable in the respective monolingual regions of origin. Even within the bilingual community itself norms of appropriateness vary. In a relatively small Puerto Rican neighborhood in New Jersey, some members freely use code switching styles and extreme forms of borrowing in everyday talk as well as in more formal gatherings. However, they spoke Spanish with very small children and older family members. Other local resdients spoke Spanish only on formal occasions, reserving code switching styles for informal talk. Others again spoke mainly English using Spanish or code switching only with small children or with some neighbors.

Depending on such factors as region of origin, local residence, social class and occupational niche, each communicating subgroup tends to establish its won conventions with respect to both borrowing and code switching. To judge a bilingual by any a priori standards of grammaticality can therefore hardly be satisfactory. The best that can be done is to establish a range of interpretable alternations or communicative options and thus to distinguish between errors due to lack of grammatical knowledge and meaningful discourse. Rules of productive control within this range of options are always context bound and difficult to generalize.

They are learned through constant practice by living in a group and vary just as control of lexicon and style varies in monolingual groups.

There is evidence to show that most bilinguals have at least a comprehensive knowledge of usage norms other than their own and that they can use this knowledge to judge speakers social backgraound and attitudes in much the same way that monolinguals use dialect in assessments of social status. Residents of such large Spanish-English speaking communities as San Francisco or New York, which includes immigrants from many Latin American regions, in fact claim that they can tell much about a person's family background and politics from the way he code switches and uses borrowings. What the outsider sees as almost unpredictable variation, becomes a communicative resource for members. Simce biliungual usage rules must be learned by living in a group, ability to speak appropriately is a strong indication of shared background assumptions. Bilinguals, in fact, ordinarily do not use code switching styles even with other bilinguals unless they know something about the listener's background and attitudes. To do otherwise is to run a risk of serious misunderstanding.

Conversational Code-Switching as a Sociolinguistic Phenomenon

Code alternation among bilinguals shows some similarity to alternation among dialect variables in the urban speech community studied in recent sociolinguistic surveys. Here also selection of variants is in large part due to subconscious processes. Furthermore, attitudes to speaking as well as members self reports differ systematically from actual usage. (Trudgill 1974). It seems that in both cases social factors outweigh actual usage as predictors of message form.

Yet there are some significant differences between the two types of problems. Variable distribution rules are statistical abstractions relating the incidence of certain items of surface form in the speech of significant samples of speakers to macro sociological categories, such as social class, ethnic identity, education and the like. With bilingual groups which are deeply divided with respect to code switching rules these relations do not necessarily hold.

In fact Labov (1971), who first formalized the notion of variable rule, explicitly cites the following Spanish-English passage as an instance

of non-rule governed variation. (In the transcription Spanish passages are underlined and followed by capitalized English translations. English passages are given directly in lower case.)

> Por eso cada, (THEREFORE) you know it's nothing to be proud of, porque yo no estoy (BECAUSE I AM NOT) proud of it, as a matter of fact I hate it, pero viene Vierne y Sábado yo estoy, tu me ve haci [sic] a mí, sola (BUT COME FRIDAY AND SATURDAY I AM, YOU SEE ME LIKE THIS, ALONE) with a, aquí solita, a veces que Frankie me deja, (HERE ALONE, SOMETIMES FRANKIE LEAVES ME) you know a stick or something, y yo aquí solita, queces [sic] Judy no sabe y yo estoy haci [sic], viendo televisión, (AND I HERE ALONE, PERHAPS JUDY DOESN'T KNOW AND I AM LIKE THIS, WATCHING TELEVISION) but I rather, y cuando estoy con gente yo me...borracha porque me siento más, (AND WHEN I AM WITH PEOPLE I...DRUNK BECAUSE I FEEL MORE) happy, más (MORE) free, you know, pero si yo estoy con mucha gente yo no estoy, (BUT IF I AM WITH MANY PEOPLE I AM NOT) you know, high, more or less, I couldn't get along with anybody.

Labov describes the switching in this passage as idiosyncratic behavior, not covered by the regularities which determine the occurrences of sociolinguistic variables. His argument hinges on his implicit definition of the term social as limited phenomena that show statistically predictable distributions within extralinguistically defined human groups. Labov does not attempt to account for the listener's ability to assign speakers to social categories, to place them within the spectrum of known social categories and to assess shared social background. If we extend our definition to these latter phenomena, which clearly fall within the scope of sociological role theory, then code switching cannot be dismissed as merely a matter of idiosyncratic behavior. To be sure, code switching occurs in conditions of change, where group boundaries are diffuse, norms and standards of evaluation vary, and where speakers' ethnic identities and social backgrounds are not matters of common agreement. Yet if it is true that code switching styles serve as functioning communicative systems, if members can agree on interpretations of switching in context and on categorizing others on the basis of their switching, there must be some regularities and shared perceptions on which these judgements are based.

Perhaps a more fruitful way to visualize the issue of social regularities in code alternation is to set aside the assumption that speakers either do or do not conform to the norms of one or another clearly defined ethnic group and to consider speaker participation in various networks of relationship. Network analysis focuses on the various kinds of social contacts that actors establish in the course of their regular routines and on the norms governing behavior in these contacts. It makes possible the empirical examination of the relationship of ethnic group membership to everyday behavior. Examination of speech variation in these terms has shown that within what on the surface seems like a single speech community (Gumperz 1971) it is often necessary to distinguish two categories of individuals: a) individuals interested in closed network relationship, where family, friendship and occupaional and other contacts are carried on mainly with others of similar network characteristics and b) open network speakers, for whom such regular reiationships do not overlap and interaction is carried on with others of different background.

A number of scholars have noted that the speech of closed network groups is marked by an unusually large number of truncated, idiomatic stock phrases and context bound deitic expressions. (Sapir 1922, Bernstein 1971). Although some tend to see this as evidence for socially based differences in language ability, it is more reasonable to assume that exclusive interaction with individuals of similar background, leads to reliance on unverbalized and context bound presuppositions in communication and that formulaic speech reflects this fact. Speakers who have little experience to the contrary often fail to account for the fact that others who do not share their communicative experience may also not have the background knowledge to interpret their speech as they themselves do.

Open network situations by contrast are marked both by diversity of norms and attitudes and by diversity of communicative conventions. To be effective here speakers must be aware of differences in interpretation processes. They cannot expect that their unspoken communicative conventions, characteristic of their own peer group, are understood by others and must be flexible with respect to speech style.

Note that network position is only partly a matter of ethnic group. It is a function of actual communicative experience and also varies with

education, occupation, generation cohort, political values and individual aspiration for mobility. Accordingly members of the same family and neighborhood background group may show different language usage practices.

The bilingual speakers we have described show the social and attitudinal characteristics of open network situations. One would expect their language usage practices to reflect this also. Yet because of its reliance on unverbalized shared understandings code switching is typical of the communicative conventions of closed network situations. Our observation that switching strategies serve to probe for shared background knowledge suggests an explanation for this apparent contradiction. Since the appropriate usage can be learned only through actual communicative experience, if a speaker in a situation of social diversity can appropriately employ these strategies as part of the give and take of a longer conversational exchange, this is in itself socially significant. Regardless of the attitudes members may express elsewhere, regardless of how they would rate on conventional social scales, their control of the relevant communicative strategies is prima facie evidence for the existence of shared underlying assumptions which differentiate them from others who cannot use these strategies.

It is not necessary therefore to turn to larger samples of text of extralinguistic indices in order to determine whether bilingual alternation is more than idiosyncratic behavior. What we need are detailed investigations of speakers' use of code switching strategies, in actual conversational exchanges, to show that they exhibit some form of linguistic patterning, that they contribute to the meaning of constituent messages and that participants in the interaction agree on their interpretation. Even a casual examination of the above text in these terms reveals a number of regularities in the speakers' use of the two codes. Many of the seemingly English items clearly count as borrowings in terms of criteria. Examples are "television"; "happy" in "me siento más happy"; "free" in "más free". "Proud of it" in "yo no estoy proud of it" is marginal, but probably also a borrowing because of its position within the Spanish phrase.

The rest of the passage, if we disregard the initial sentence, which is incomplete, is mainly in Spanish. The code switched phrases consist largely of interjections, dependent clauses or verb compliment phrases.

The speaker describes her loneliness at home while her husband is away. English serves mainly to amplify or to qualify information already introduced. This is not random language mixture, yet motivation for code switching seems to be stylistic and metaphorical tather than grammatical. The process by which meaning is conveyed must be studied in terms of the stylistic interrelationship of sentences or phrases within the passage as a whole, not in terms of the internal structure of particular sentences.

Code Switching in Three Language Situations

To explore the mechanisms by which code switching conveys meaning and their relationship to grammar and speaker's and listener's social presuppositions in more detail, code switched passages, isolated from a number of conversational exchanges were examined. Examples derived mainly from three linguistically and socially distinct situations.

The first is an Austrian village of farmers and laborers located along the Austrian-Yugoslavian border. The population here has a history of one hundred and fifty to two hundred years of bilingualism. Speakers use Slovenian at home but they are educated in German and live in close proximity to German speaking villages and shopping centers. German is the exclusive language of most business and work relations. The second group consists of Indian college students from urban Delhi. All students are native speakers of Hindi who have had all their secondary education in English. Some members of the group are teachers of English, some have published poems and short stories in Hindi. In situation three participants are members of a group of Chicano college students and urban professionals who were born in the United States and are largely of economically deprived backgrounds. They speak Chicano Spanish at home especially at home with their elders, but speak English in many of their work and friendship relations. The conversations studied were recorded for the most part by participants themselves and interpretations of meanings in each case were checked with participants and with others of similar social and linguistic background.

Knowledge of cultural values and social factors affecting language use are a necessary starting point for any study of code switching, but as we have argued above, this information is only one of the factors which

enter into the speaker's interpretation process. When interviewed about their language usage, speakers in all three situations readily identify Slovenian, Hindi and Spanish respectively as the "we" code, suitable with kin and close friends. German and English serve as "they" codes to be used with outsiders or for special types of formal discourse. Beyond this, however, opinions about language usage norms vary and can be interpreted and understood only in relation to the background conditions that shape each language situation.

The Austrian village is part of that area of Slovenia, which in the elections held shortly after the first world war voted to remain with Austria, rather than become part of the newly formed Yugoslavian State. Slovenian speakers, although numerically in the majority in their own villages, were largely marginal farmers and landless laborers, who until the end of the nineteenth century had been looked down upon and effectively excluded from commerce and urban middle class occupations. In modern Austria ethnic minorities have been legally emancipated and their linguistic rights are protected by law. This policy was only briefly reversed under the German occupation during the second world war, when Slovenians were officially declared to be of German descent. They were forbidden to speak Slovenian and anyone caught using it was subject to denunciation or arrest. At present Slovenian instruction is again available where the demand is sufficient to warrant it.

Since the second world war, with the advent of tourism as a major source of income and with the growth of the timber industry, the economic differential between German and Slovenian speakers has largely disappeared and with it ethnic prejudice is also waning. The norms of language usage however continue to reflect the history of inter-ethnic relations. For all practical purposes German is accepted by all as the only official and literary language. All village residents agree for example that it is impolite or even crude to speak Slovenian in the presence of German speakers, be they foreigners or German speaking residents. So strong is the injunction against speaking Slovenian in mixed company that tourists can live in the village for weeks without knowing that any language except German is spoken. Furthermore, although Slovenian continues to be spoken in most homes and is positively valued as a sign of village in-group solidarity,

young people are encouraged to learn 'proper German' lest they have difficulty in school or employment.

In urban North India, English has since the nineteenth century been the main symbol of urbanization and Western technology. Until quite recently secondary and higher education were almost entirely in English. Hindi is a literary language with a written tradition going back to the Middle Ages. Hindi literature has flourished during the last decades; poetry, novels and short stories are widely read since Indian independence. Furthermore, Hindi has become the official language of administration and has replaced English as an important medium for business in much of North India. There has been a great deal of effort by language reformers and government planners to replace English altogether. Yet English continues to be widely used especially in those metropolitan centers where large sectors of the population come from non-Hindi speaking areas.

By the time they go to college most students in these larger cities have a functional reading and speaking knowledge of English and use it along with Hindi. The use of English in informal conversations is deplored by many critics , who see the tendency to use foreign loan words and to 'mix languages' as a threat to the purity of Hindi and a threat to the preservation of traditional values. Yet among students and young intellectuals of the type recorded here, knowledge of English serves as a mark of sophistication. The individuals in question pride themselves of their knowledge of modern Hindi literature and on their sense of Hindi and their use of English in everyday talk.

Speakers of Chicano Spanish in California are inpart descendants of Mexican immigrants to the Southwestern United States who came as farm laborers or industrial workers and in part descendants of indigenous Spanish speaking populations. They tend to live in ethnically segregated Spanish neighborhoods where Spanish speaking native of the United States intermingle with recently arrived monolinguals. Until quite recently they ranked lowest among California ethnic minorities in income or education. Middle class occupations were not open to those individuals who retained obvious signs of ethnic distinctness. Spanish speakers who entered the middle class felt obliged to assimilate to middle class American culture and this meant giving up one's ties to one's Spanish speaking background.

As elsewhere in the case of minority language settlements, residents of Spanish speaking neighborhoods have developed their own dialect of Spanish. This language has many features in common with the dialects of Mexican farmers. It has also incorporated some of the features of Caló, the slang of urban youth groups, and incorporates large numbers of borrowings from English. Residents of Mexico tend to use the term pocho to refer both to the Americans of Mexican descent and -- in a d rogatory sense -- to the urban dialect the latter speak. As we pointed out before, with the recent awakening of ethnic consciousness the terms pocho, caló and chicano have been adopted as symbols of the newly found self pride. Urban professionals and intellectuals consciously affirm their tie to their low income ethnic brothers and symbolize this by deliberate adoption of pocho speech along with English and literary Spanish.

All three societies represent situations of change, characterized by both inter and intra-group diversity of aspirations and standards of evaluation. This is reflected (a) by the symbolic associations of the respective "we" and "they" codes and (b) by the lack of general agreement about the linguistic realizations of these codes. In abstract purely grammatical terms the linguistic repertoires are perhaps most easily described as dialect continua in which the gap between the extremes in bridged by intermediate varieties, marked by various degrees of grammatical convergence borrowing and code switching. However, as the discrepency between self report and recorded texts suggests, members do not attempt to establish explicit relations between usage and grammatical facts. When members talk about language, the term language serves as a metaphor for talk about interpersonal relations, political values and behavioral etiquette. Yet on the other hand members also use criteria of linguistic appropriateness to judge others and make inferences based on what they say. These latter judgments are always context-bound and depend on conventions governing appropriate co-occurrences between context and contextualization cues, which are difficult to state in the abstract. Yet since in any one context members can agree on what is meant, examination of the relevant conversational processes can elucidate the underlying bases for this agreement.

The Conversational Functions of Code Switching

As an initial step in our analysis, an attempt was made to study the conversational functions that code switching has. Illustrative brief exchanges, just long enough, to provide a basis for context bound interpretation were extracted from tape recorded conversations in all three situations. It was found that switching serves roughly similar functions in all three situations, so that a single preliminary typology can be set up which holds across languages.

A. Quotations

In many instances the code switched passages are clearly identifiable either as direct quotations or as reports speech. Here are some examples (Slovenian, Hindi and Spanish sentences are underlined and followed by translation in capitals, German is not underlined but also translated in capitals):

10. Slovenian-German. From an informal business discussion among neighboring farmers, called to discuss the sharing of farm machinery. The speaker is reporting on a conversation with a German speaking businessman:

pa prabe THEN HE SAID wen er si nit colt gib i si nit IF HE DOES NOT PAY FOR IT, I WILL NOT GIVE IT.

11. Elsewhere in the same discussion a speaker reports as follows on what a fellow villager, who is a potential participant to the sharing arrangement, has said:

pa waguta yə tudi reku mənə učera AND VAGUTA HAS ALSO SAID TO ME YESTERDAY: also a hektar hab i gel SO I HAVE ABOUT A HEKTAR also i bin gewilt SO I AM WILLING.

12. Slovenian German. Village women talking with neighbors about her conversation with the German speaking doctor:

tədei yə viu tolə tudi tolə yə THEN THERE WAS ALSO... THERE WAS ...prou vaudə yə mou HE ACTUALLY HAD WRINKLES pa yəs varawa sn rainaryə yəs sn reakua AND I ASKED (DR.) RAINER, I SAID is etwas k šwol n IS SOMETHING SWOLLEN. praba: HE SAYS nain er is gut ernert er hət kain vəsar unt

gu$r niks NO HE IS WELL NOURISHED HE HAS NO WATER OR ANYTHING.

13. Hindi-English. From a conversation among young Hindi speaking college teachers. The speaker is talking about his visit to the doctor:

He says: ye hī meḍsin kɔnṭinyū kɔ̄ro bhāī CONTINUE TAKING THIS MEDECINE FRIEND.

14. Hindi-English. From a conversation among Hindi speaking college students and writers in Delhi:

I went to Agra, to mãine ɔpne bhāīko bola ki THEN I SAID TO MY BROTHER THAT, if you come to Delhi you must buy me some lunch.

15. Spanish-English. From a conversation among two Chicano professionals. The speaker is talking about her babysitter:

She doesn't speak English, so,dice que la regañan: "sí se les va olvidar el idioma a las criaturas" SHE SAYS THAT THEY WOULD SCOLD HER: "THE CHILDREN ARE SURELY GOING TO FORGET THEIR LANGUAGE."

16. Spanish-English. Later in the above situation, the speaker is reporting on what her father said about her children's inability to speak Spanish:

To this day he says that...uh...it's a shame that they don't speak...uh...Spanish. están como burros. Les habla uno y THEY ARE LIKE DONKEYS. SOMEONE TALKS TO THEM AND: "What he say, what's he saying."

B. Addressee Specification

In a second set of examples the switch serves to direct the message to one of several possible addressees. This occurred very frequently in the Austrian village when a speaker turned to someone standing aside from a group of conversationalists:

17. Slovenian-German. Informal conversation about the weather in a village home. A strong wind is blowing and there is a danger of rain and of the fruit being blown off the trees.

A (speaking to B): nčeabɔ prišu, vɔ ki šu vaitar IT WILL NOT COME, IT WILL PASS BY.

B (speaking to A): yɔ ki tɔkɔ naʁásan zâpkamɔ pa yɔ žiɔ ciu štɔm yɔ pastranɔ IT IS SO OVERLOADED WITH APPLES AND THE ENTIRE TREE IS BENT ALREADY.

B (continues, turning to C sitting apart): regan vert so ain vint is drausɔn IT WILL RAIN IT IS SO WINDY OUTSIDE.

18. A group of Hindi speaking graduate students are discussing the subject of Hindi-English code switching:

A: Sometimes you get excited and then you speak in Hindi, then again you go on to English.

B: No nonsense, it depends on your command of English.

B: (shortly thereafter turning to a third participant who has just returned from answering the doorbell): kau hai bhāī WHO IS IT? (Note the discrepancy here between actual usage and talk about usage).

19. A Hindi speaker student couple is talking to a Hindi-speaking visitor in their home:

Wife: pīpɔrmint piyẽgī āp WILL YOU HAVE SOME PEPPERMINT?

Visitor: piyengi? DRINK?

Wife: pīnekīhī čīz hai THAT IS WHAT IT'S FOR, DRINKING.

Visitor: ye kaise piyā jātā hai HOW CAN I DRINK IT?

Husband: But she doubts us, ki ismẽ koī alcohol to nɔhĩ THERE MIGHT BE SOME ALCOHOL IN IT.

Husband (turning to his wife): Put it in a glass for her.

C. Interjections

In other cases the code switch serves to mark an interjection or sentence filler. Item one above is a good example. The complete sequence is:

20. Spanish-English. Chicano professionals saying goodbye, and after having been introduced by a third participant, talking briefly:

A: Well, I'm glad I met you.

B. Ándale pues (O.K. SWELL) And do come again. Mm?

21. Spanish-English. A is talking to someone elso later on in the same situation. Here the main message is in Spanish and the switch to English:

pero como BUT HOW you know...la Estela y la Sandi... relistas en el teléfono (STELLA AND SANDI ARE VERY PRECOCIOUS ON THE PHONE.)

22. Slovenian-German. Autsrian village conversation. B replies to A prior to continuing on in Slovenian

A: grta yɔtɔ GO THERE

B: Ya so ist das

D. Repetition

Frequently a message is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form. In some cases such repetitions may serve to clarify what is said, but often they simply amplify or emphasize a message.

23. Spanish-English. Chicano professionals:

A: The three old ones spoke nothing but Spanish. Nothing but Spanish. No hablaban inglés THEY DID NOT SPEAK ENGLISH.

24. Spanish-English. Later in the same conversation:

A: I was...I got to thinking vacilando el punto ese MULLING OVER THAT POINT you know? I got to thinking well this and that reason...

25. Hindi-English. Father in India calling his son, who was learning to swim in a swimming pool:

bāju mẽ jāo beṭā, ɔndɔr mɔt GO TO THE SIDE SON, NOT INSIDE.

Keep to the side.

26. English-Hindi. Father calling his small son while walking through a train compartment:

A: Keep straight

Keep straight (louder)

27. Spanish-English. Puerto Rican mother in New York calling to her children who are playing on the street:

A: ven acá COME HERE
ven acá COME HERE
Come here, you.

28. Slovenian-German. Austrian village family conversation. Talking about a woman peddelr who had ocme be some time ago.

Father: tota kə yə uanə mewa kuarbc THE ONE WHO LAST YEAR HAD BASKETS
Daughter: kə yɔ ušə mewa THE ONE WHO HAD LICE
Father: koi yə mewa WHAT DID SHE HAVE?
Daughter: təčə kuarboə pa ušə yə mewa SUCH BASKETS AND SHE HAD LICE
Father: nɔ na žinian NO I DON'T BELIEVE IT
Mother: ya ya di mit kerba lan YES THE ONE WITH THE BASKETS
Father: vînarca ye βoa SHE WAS FROM VIENNA
Mother: na di mit di kerb alan NO THE ONE WITH THE BASKETS
Father: ya vînarca YES FROM VIENNA
Daughter: ya YES
Mother: a fon vin vɔr si? FROM VIENNA SHE WAS?

The father here is talking about a peddler who had come to the house to sell baskets. When the daughter claims that this peddler had lice, the father disputes her claim by asking in Slovenian "what did she have?" The daughter answers in Slovenian, "She had baskets and she had lice". When the father says, "I don't believe it," the mother breaks in in German, supporting her daughter. The father replies in Slovenian. The mother repeats her statement in German. The father replies once more in Slovenian. The daughter replies in German. Finally, the mother ends by questioning the father's statement in German.

E. Message Qualification.

Another large group of switches consist of such qualifying constructions as sentences and verb complements or as predicates following a copula. Items six, seven and eight cited above illustrate this. Other examples are:

29. English-Spanish.

A: We've got all...all these kids here right now. Los que están ya criados aquí. No los que están recién venidos de México THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN BORN HERE, NOT THE ONES THAT HAVE JUST ARRIVED FROM MEXICO. They all understood English.

30. English-Spanish.

A: The oldest one, la grande la de once años THE BIG ONE WHO IS ELEVEN YEARS OLD.

31. Hindi-English. College student conversation:

A: binā veṭ kiye āp ā gəe WITHOUT WAITING YOU CAME?

B: nəĭ NO, I came to the bus stop nau bīs pəčč̄īs pər ABOUT NINE TWENTY FIVE.

32. Hindi-English.

A: nə̃i, no, aegī zərūr SHE WOULD CERTAINLY COME because she said ki yədi mə̃i nə̃i aũgĭ to IF I SHOULD NOT COME THEN I'll ring you up and she hasn't rung me up.

F. Personalization versus Objectivization

Lastly, in a very large group of instances function is somewhat more difficult to specify in purely descriptive terms. The code contrast here seems to relate to such things as: the distinction between talk about action and talk as action, the degree of speaker involvement in, or distance from, a message, whether a statement reflects personal opinion or knowledge, refers to specific instances or whether it has the authority of generally known fact. Perhaps the best way to illustrate this is through more detailed discussion of examples.

33. Slovenian-German. Farmers' discussion in the Austrian village. Making plans for sharing machinery and dealing with problems that might come up:

A: alə mərmaya təkə nadrit OK LET US DO IT LIKE THIS dann von etwas is, nəguət THEN IF SOMETHING HAPPENS, OK FINE pa tolə gax wikəlna IF SOMETIMES (THE MOTOR

MUST BE) REWOUND kost sibn ɔxt hundart šiling IT COSTS SEVEN OR EIGHT HUNDRED SHILLINGS

B: ja ja payə dənər tau OK, OK THEN THE MONEY IS THERE

[Later on in the same discussion]:

A: yɔs sak leta diən oli ntər I PUT IN EVERY YEAR OIL kost virzen siling IT COSTS FOURTEEN SHILLINGS

A begins with a personalized statement, suggesting what the group should do. He shifts to German upon mentioning a possible problem with the arrangement, as if to imply that such things may happen without anyone being at fault. Later on the cost of the repair is given in German, as is the cost of the oil in the last statement. Perhaps the shift to German gives the air of objective factuality to cost figures quoted.

34. Austrian village. Same situation as above. The discussion now concerns the origin to a certain type of wheat:

A: vigələ ma yə z americɔ WIGELE GOT THEM FROM AMERICA

B: kanada pridə IT COMES FROM CANADA

A: kanada mus i sɔgn nit I WOULD NOT SAY CANADA

Here B disputes A's statement and A counters in German, as if to lend his statement more authority.

35. Hindi-English. College student conversation:

A: anurādhā āi? DID ANURADHA COME?

B: She was supposed to see me at nine thirty at Karol Bag.

A: Karol Bag?

B: ɔr măi nɔ bəje ghərse niklā AND I LEFT THE HOUSE AT NINE.

B's English response to A's Hindi question here treats the appointment as an objective fact. B shifts back to Hindi in explaining his own actions.

36. Hindi-English College girls talking about what a male friend said:

A: terā nām liyā, nītā kā nām liyā HE MENTIONED YOU, HE MENTIONED NITA

B: ɔhā kyā kahne AH WHAT SHOULD I SAY she'll be flattered āj mãi leke a rɔhi thī na TODAY I WAS GOING TO BRING HER YOU SEE

Here B shifts to English in talking about Lipa's feelings suggests that the statement is a causal one, not implying personal involvement. B shifts back to Hindi in talking about what she personally intended to do.

37. Spanish-English. Chicano professionals. A talks about her attempt to cut down on smoking:

A: ...I'd smoke the rest of the pack myself in the other two weeks.

B: That's all you smoke?

A: That's all I smoked.

B: An how about now?

M: estos...me los hallé...estos Pall Malls me los hallaron (THESE...) FOUND THESE PALL MALLS I THEY WERE FOUND FOR ME) No I mean that's all the cigarettes...that's all. They're the ones I buy.

[Later in the same conversation]

A: ...they tell me "How did you quit Mary?" I didn't quit I...I just stopped. I mean it wasn't an effort that I made que voy a dejar de fumar por que me hace daño o THAT I'M GOING TO STOP SMOKING BACAUSE IT'S HARMFUL TO ME OR this or that uh-uh. It's just that I used to pull butts out of the waste paper basket yeah. I used to go look in the...se me acababan los cigarros en la noche MY CIGARETTES WOULD RUN OUT ON ME AT NIGHT) I'd get desparate y ahí voy al basurero a buscar a sacar, AND THERE I GO TO THE WASTEBASKET TO LOOK FOR SOME, you know.

Note how the code contrast symbolizes varying degrees of speaker involvement in the message. Spanish statements are personalized while English reflects more distance. The speaker seems to alternate between talking about her

problem in English and acting out her problem through words in Spanish.

The above list, although by no means exhaustive, illustrates some of the common uses of code switching. The variety of interpretations which result is much greater than one would expect from speakers' descriptions of language usage in terms of the simple "we" and "they" dichotomy. Information conveyed varies greatly with context and discourse content. Yet the same kinds of uses or functions tend to recur in what on both linguistic and social grounds are quite distinct situations.

The fact that it is possible to isolate such conversational functions, constitutes a convenient initial step in our analysis of code switching. It opens up the possibility of examining code-switching directly and discussing the relevant problems of interpreting with members who ordinarily have no words for referring to the phenomenon. If members agree on an interpretation of a code switched passage, one can assume that this agreement is based on similar linguistic perceptions and then proceed to investigate code switching as part of the contextualization cues which give rise to these perceptions.

Yet a list of functions cannot by itself explain what the linguistic bases of listeners' perceptions are and how they affect the interpretation process. It is of course always possible to postulate extralinguistic social factors or items of background knowledge which affect tha incidence of switching, yet to attempt to set up language usage rules which predict or reliably account for the incidence of code switching proves to be a highly complex task.

Consider the problem of quoted or reported speech. It is clear that not all speakers quoted in the language they normally use. In item ten a Slovenian bilingual quotes a German monolingual in German, but in eleven a Slovenian speaker quotes a Slovenian speaking neighbor's remarks in German. One might attempt to formulate a rule such as the following: Quote a message in the code in which it was said. Examples ten, eleven, twelve and thirteen might support this rule. Example sixteen where a speaker reports on a conversation in English and shifts to Spanish for the direct quote, would seem to illustrate the signalling value of the rule. But note that in item sixteen Spanish is used both for reported speech and for the direct quote. In item fourteen moreover the speaker tells about his trip to Agra in the "they" code, switching to the "we" code

to state that he talked to his brother and switching back to the "they" code for the quote. It might be said that this last item reflects the actual language used but this does not explain why the "we" code was used to introduce the quotation.

A detailed examination of the conversation from which example twelve was exerpted reveals some further difficulties.

38. Speaker A begins with a Hindi question:

aur kya bola auk̤ t r ne AND WHAT DID THE DOCTOR SAY?

B replies, starting in English and shifting to Hindi for the quote:

he says ye hī medisin kɔnṯinyū kəro CONTINUE THIS MEDECINE

B then goes on in English:

He'll see me on Monday. But he told me: "You continue with this medicine."

A then counters in Hindi:

injekšən usne ləgā dī DID HE GIVE AN INJECTION?

Whatever patterning there is in this type of code switching cannot be explained by simple rules relating conversational functions to instances of code use.

The issue becomes even more complex when we consider that not all functions listed are equally readily identified. Quotes, address specification, interjections and to some extent repetitions, are for the most part marked through both surface form and overt discourse content. But categories such as message qualification, personalization and objectification are only rough labels, at best, for a large class of stylistic or semantic phenomena. As we will attempt to show later, members are likely to interpret "we" code passages as personalized or reflection speaker involvement and "they" code passages as indicating objectification or speaker distance in examples such as items 33-37. But this does not mean that all "we" code passages are clearly identifiable as personalized on the basis of overt content or discourse context alone. In many cases it can be argued that it is the choice of code itself in a particular conversational context which determines this interpretation. Thus rather than

attempting to refine our classification of functions, so as to be able to predict code occurrence, it seems more useful to take a more semantic approach to code switching and to examine how code switching constrains the process of conversational inference.

Code Switching as a Pragmatic Phenomenon

The fact that in all three socially and linguistically distinct language situations code switching is used for roughly the same ends in similar discourse contexts, suggests that its contribution to the interpretation of messages is independent of the internal grammatical structure of constituent codes. In all the examples we have collected it is the juxtaposition of two alternative linguistic realizations of the same message that signals information, not the propositional content of any one conversational passage. The contrast may be overt as when the same phrase is followed by a linguistically different but semantically similar string. In all cases speakers associate one of the two alternative expressions with the casualness of intimacy of home or peer group relations and the other with the formality or public or out group relations. The ultimate semantic effect of the message, however derives from a complex interpretive process in which the code juxtaposition is in turn evaluated in relation to the propositional content of component sentences and to speakers' background knowledge, social presuppositions and contextual constraints.

Speakers' Notions of Code

What is the linguistic knowledge that speakers must have to distinguish the meaningful code juxtapositions from mere random alternaitons or idiosyncratic alternations and to draw appropriate conversational inferences? We have already made a distinction between conversaional code switching, which builds on participants' perception of two contrasting systems and borrowing where elements associated with one code are assimilated into the grammatical system of the other. Once a passage has been identified as involving switching, there remains the problem of determining the boundaries of switched passages, or of chunking speech in such a way as to assign constituent elements to one or another code.

One might assume that this ability to delimit contrasting code is primarily a function of the grammatical distance between the two systems. Everything being equal, it should be easier to identify code contrasts where bilingualism involves two grammatically distinct and historically unrelated languages than in cases of bidialectalism. But, as we have pointed out, the bilingual phenomena we are concerned with are usually accompanied by extensive convergence and structural overlap. Examples eleven to thirteen show that this overlap may affect all levels of grammer. The perceptual distinctness of potential code contrasts is further reduced by the fact that "we" and "they" codes share a significant portion of their vocabulary. Since code-switching styles are much more tolerant of borrowing than their monolingual equivalents, items like "gefixed" and "hiyõ-me" and "šiyõ-me" in examples nine and thirteen which when judged in isolation are usually found unacceptable, nevertheless pass without notice as part of the borrowing code in conversational context.

As a result of convergence and borrowing, sentences in language paris which when seen from the monolingual perspective seem quite distinct, may on the surface appear to be almost identical. The following sentence discussed in an earlier study of Hindi and Punjabi, as spoken by some college students in Delhi (Gumperz 1971) is an extreme example.

39. Delhi Hindi: o nəi kha-t-a HE DOESN'T EAT
Delhi Punjabi: o nəi kha-nd-a HE DOESN'T EAT

The two codes here appear indistinguishable phonetically and almost identical both in syntax and lexicon. To juxtapose such sequences, in natural conversation contexts members must be sensitive to what to the outsider may appear as quite subtle perceptual cues. What seems to happen in these cases is that memebers respond to the presence or absence of certain key, surface grammatical elements such as morphs participating in core inflectional paradigms as for example the Hindi participal affix -t- and its Punjab equivalent -nd- in item 39 case endings, and agreement markers or of certain function words or phonological variables with very high frequency. Codes are identified on the basis of expectation concerning the cooccurrence of such key symbols of code spearation with other aspects of message form.

These cooccurrence expectations have some similarity with

syntactic selection restrictions but what is involved here are not abstract semantic features such as animate, inanimate or stative, non-stative, but surface characteristics of the sentence such as the stylistic associations of particular lexical items, the phonetic realization and prosodic and rythmic characteristic of message sequences. Example six where the English borrowing "teacher" serves as aprt of the Hindi "we" code illustrates the seeming arbitrariness and conventionality of cooccurrence judgements. There are two perfectly good Hindi alternates which are quite frequent in other colloquial contexts and could ideally have been used instead: the slightly more formal or literary "adyapɔk" of "mastɔr" (itself originally a borrowing,which by now has become an integral part of some forms of urban speech). Yet neither of these forms is considered appropriate in this particular context. Similarly in the second English part of the message the name of the city appears in its English like phonetic form "Delhi", the local pronunciation "dilli" would have been inappropriate. Identification of codes therefore is only partly a matter of what the linguist would consider grammatical knowledge. Only a subset of the total inventory of grammatical elements and syntaxtic rules of a code are critical, others are optional. Furthermore, the cooccurrence expectations which tie criterial elements to surface style are matters of subcultural conventions not covered in the ordinary grammatical description.

Syntactic and Pragmatic Constraints on Switching

Apart from knowing how to identify and keep apart "we" and "they" codes, speakers must also have the ability to distinguish between meaningful and non-meaningful code contrasts. We have shown that although most instances of switching coincide with sentence boundaries, there are also a number of common cases where elements of what on linguistic grounds counts as a single construction are contrasted. What are the constraints which govern this kind of intrasentential juxtaposition? Clearly if code switching is meaningful it must be subject to some forms of linguistic regularity and we should be able to isolate instances of switching which for linguistic reasons are not meaningful.

To investigate the nature of these constraints, a series of appropriateness tests were devised. Some experimentation was necessary to work

out reliable testing procedures, in view of the difficulty of obtaining information on code switching in interview situations and the diversity of attitudes to language usage. The usual linguists' practice in which the investigator asks for native judegments of hypothetical isolated sentences illustrating key grammatical points clearly cannot work here since what is judged are conversational inferences and the investigator and his subjects do not share the same cultural presuppositions. On the other hand to find sufficient naturally occurring examples would have required much larger samples of free information than can be conveniently collected. To avoid these difficulties key passages were isolated from natural conversation and used as the basis of substitution frames in which certain test elements were systematically altered. To provide an appropriate context for elicitation purposes these sentences were not quoted in isolation, but were first reintroduced into conversational exchanges similar to those in which the originals had appeared. Substitutions were then listed in sets and members were asked to rank them in order of appropriateness.

The results were grouped in accordance with the syntactic relationship among the juxtaposed construction. The test frames are given in the form of their English equivalents with the codeswitched sequence underlined. Sentences are arranged in order of acceptability. A double star indicates that an item is completely unacceptable, a single star that items are simply odd, unmarked items are acceptable. Unless specially noted all examples hold for all three language paris.

40. Subject-predicate constructions

Item "My uncle Sam es el más agabachado IS THE MOST AMERICANIZED is a striking naturally occurring example of this construction.

My uncle Sam from San Jose is the oldest

My uncle Sam

*My uncle

*That one

**He

Any noun phrase can be switched here, except for the non-emphatic personal pronoun 'he', which is clearly unacceptable throughout. The

emphatic pronoun is marginally acceptable as is a simple noumphrase. On the whole the longer the noun the more natural the switch.

41. Noun complement constructions

That's the book the one that was lost
that was lost

**That's the lost book

**That's the book lost (E-Sp)

Here again acceptability decreases with decreasing length of the contrasting phrase. The simple adjective cannot be switched even if -- as in Spanish -- it is post-poned.

42. Object-embedded relative clauses

That's the big car that I saw yesterday

**That's the big car I saw yesterday

When an English relative pronoun refers to the object of an embedded sentence, it can optionally be deleted. In the English part of code switched sentences only the full form is possible, pronoun deletion is clearly unacceptalbe.

43. Subject embedded relative clauses.

The man who was here yesterday he didn't come today

**The man who was here yesterday didn't come today

When a relative clause is embedded in a subject phrase, this phrase cannot stand alone, it must be followed by a personal pronoun.

44. Verb-Verb complement constructions

You should go to the field

**You should to the field.

Verb complements can freely be switched. In Hindi and in the Austrian village dialect of German complements can either precede or follow the main verb. In code switched sentences only post-poned complements are possible.

45. Conjoined phrases

I was reading a book and she was working

**I was reading a book and she was working

I wanted to stop smoking but I couldn't

**I wanted to stop smoking but I couldn't

John stayed at home because his wife was at work

**John stayed at home because his wife was at work

Both co-ordinate and subordinate conjoined sentences can freely be switched, but the conjunction always goes with the second switched phrase.

46. Verbs of propositional attitude

When a message is preceded by a phrase like think...believe... etc. the switch can occur only after the performative verb.

He went to the field

I think he went to the field

**I think he went to the field

My father is the oldest

I think that my father is the oldest

**I think that my father is the oldest

47. Two verbs of propositional attitudes

When a sentence contains two of the above phrases a switch can occur either after the first or after the second phrase. Sequences after the switch must all be in one code.

I think that he believes that my father is the oldest

I think he believes that my father is the oldest

**I think he believes that my father is the oldest

48. When a phrase is seen as an idiomatic whole it cannot ordinarily be broken up a switch.

**They like bread and butter

**They like eating and drinking

but

They saw John and his brother is quite acceptable.

49. Gapping

Frank ordered beer, John ordered wine, Eric ordered brandy

*Frank ordered beer, John wine, and Eric brandy

Switched phrases like the above in which the main verb is not repeated are only marginally acceptable at best.

It is evident that, although code switching can cut across many common syntactic relationships, it is nevertheless subject to at least some syntactic constraints. This is also confirmed in a recent independent study of Spanish English code switching (Timm 1975) which points to the ungrammaticality of switching in pronoun-verb constructions such as those in example 41, as well as in verb-pronoun object constructions (i.e. xx mira LOOK AT) him), verb plus infinitive complement, auxiliary-verb and negative-verb constructions and others.

Our data suggests however that such syntactic constraints are in turn motivated by underlying factors which depend more on certain aspects of surface form and of pragmatics than on structural or grammatical characteristics as such. For example, the pronoun-verb constructions which cannot be switched and the noun phrase verb construction which can be are both of the NP VP type. Furthermore since emphatic pronouns like "that one" are switchable, the pronoun-noun distinction does not alone account for the constraint. The ease with which a sequence can be switched is most closely related to the following factors: a) The length of the phrase or perhaps its stressability or contrastability (see examples 41, 40) b) Sequential unity. Discontinuous sequences cannot be switched (44) c) Semantic or pragmatic unity. Idiomatic units cannot be broken (48). Conjunctions go with the phrase they conjoin (45). Pronoun-verb sequences are more unitary than noun verb sequences (40). When a phrase has both an expanded and contracted form only the former appears as part of code switched sequences (42, 43, 49). When a sentence is dominated by a performative verb unit the main clause acts as a single unit (46). d) The total number of switches within any message subunit cannot be more than one (47).

To generalize then, although the production of appropriate switches in any one situation requires knowledge which is subculturally specific and acquired only through practical experience, the process of switching at a more abstract level, is also governed by perhaps universal underlying constraints, which bear some similarity to the grammatical phenomena dis-

cussed in the recent work on pragmatics. Switching in other words is a pragmatic or perhaps stylistic phenomenon in which verbal sequences are chunked into contrastable units. Any feature of the context or of the message itself such as for example the presence of a conjunciton or an adverbial or a performative phrase, that sets off one sequence from preceeding or following segments, favours the process or makes the alternation sound more plausible. On the other hand constraints on switching bear some similarity to the island phenomena discussed by Ross in his analysis of syntactic movement rules (1967).

Switching is blocked where it violates the speakers' feeling for what on syntactic or semantic grounds must be regarded as a single unit.

Some additional support for the pragmatic nature of switching processes comes from longer conversational sequences, where there are no syntactic constraints. In talking about his activities one morning, a speaker in the Austrian community said:

50. yɔsn yutrɔ stawa I GOT UP IN THE MORNING yə sn traktɔr startawa I STARTED THE TRACTOR npa sn wizn nawarɔwa AND THEN I TURNEL THE GRASS

The three statements here all build up to a single activity. When the passage was repeated using various combinations of Slovenian (S) and German (G) for the three sentences, the following conbinations were judged marginally acceptable: SGG, SSG, GSS, and GGS. As one member put it: "one could say it that way, but it would sound funny. There is no real reason to say it that way." Combinations such as SGS or GSG, where a speaker shifts twice in what is seen as a single narrative subunit on the other hand are judged inappropriate. One speaker in fact exclaimed: "that's language mixing, no one would do that".

In other conversation in the Austrian village a speaker talking about the evetns of the previous evening said:

51. yɔsn šu lo kaisarya I WENT TO KAISERS pa yə siɔdu erix česaryu pa karli yanaxu mpa frantsi mimayu AND THERE SAT ERICH OF THE CESAR FAMILY, KARL OF THE X JANACH FAMILY AND FRANZ OF MIMIS FAMILY pa sma vina pilɔ AND WE DRANK SOME WINE.

The people mentioned here are all local village residents and are seen as forming a single group. Any form of the list in which two members of the group are listed in German is judged as odd. One speaker again referred to this type of switching as language mixture. It seems that longer passages are subjects to constraints on switching which are similar to those that hold within sentence boundaries.

The Conversational or Situated Interpretation of Switched Passages.

While the above examples show that conversational code switching contributes to meaning through stylistic juxtaposition of message elements they do not explain what this semantic effect is and how the various situated interpretation relate to the speakers identification of the two varieties as "we" and "they" codes. Conversations where the same message is said first in one and then in the other code throw some light on this issue. Consider once more the repetitions cited in examples 23-26:

52. Father talking to his five year old son, who is walking ahead of him and wavering from side to side in the first class compartment of a train in India:

A: Keep straight
Keep straight
sīdhā jao beṭā
WALK STRAIGHT SON

Adult talking to a ten year old who is practicing swimming in the swimming pool:

B: bāju-mẽ beṭa ON THE SIDE SON
SON bāju-mẽ ON THE SIDE stay on the side!

The two sequences were reversed so that the shift from the "we" code to the "they" code in A and from the "they" code to the "we" code in B. Both sets of sequences were played and members were aksed if the reversal in direction of the code switch changed the meaning of the message. There was clear agreement that the reversal does make a difference. The shift to the "we" code was seen as signifying more of a personal appeal, paraphrasable as "won't you please" where as the reverse shift suggests more of a warning or mild threat.

53. A Spanish-English sequence taken from a mother's call to children:

Ven acá
Ven acá
Come here, you

was similarly interpreted as a warning by Spanish-English bilinguals whereas the reverse:

Come here
Come here
Ven acá

was seen as a personal appeal.

Interpretation processes were analyzed in more detail with college student Hindi-English conversations. The procedure followed was to isolate key passages, change the English switches back to Hindi and ask members familiar with the relevant rhetorical strategies to judge the two versions. When the Hindiized versions were judged to be inappropriate, or at least different in meaning from the original versions, judges were asked for more detailed explanations of exactly what they thought speakers intended to convey in each case. These descriptions were used as the basis for constructing alternative paraphrases or verbal expansions for each of the possible interpretations. The conversations were then presented to a second group of judges who were asked to choose an appropriate paraphrase. Our predictions of what choices would be made proved right in all cases.

In the following example a conversationalist who recently applied for a job talks about his job interview. The preceding conversation is in Hindi.

54. A: āpkā inṭərvyū kaisā huwa? HOW DID YOUR INTERVIEW GO?
After a hardly noticeable pause, when there is no immediate answer the same speaker repeats
A: How did your interview go?

Two possible interpretations for the question are: a) Tell me frankly, how did the interview affect you. b) Give me a general impersonal account of what went on. Members agreed on the second alternative. In other words they interpreted the shift to English as signalling that

what was wanted was a casual reply rathen than an indication of personal feelings.

In another case a speaker reports on a missed appointment with a female acquaintance, who was to have accompanied him on a trip to town. Talking in Hindi, he says that she had called him to say she would meet him at the bus stop, but when he arrived she was not there. He then goes on as follows:

55. A: timārpur kī bəs sāmne khəṛī thī THE TIMARPUR BUS WAS STANDING BEFORE ME. Then I thought I might as well take it.

Here both the all Hindi and the Hindi-English version were judged as potentially appropriate, but their meaning was seen as quite distinct. The English version was interpreted as implying that the appointment in question was a casual one, that there was no personal involvement. The Hindi version on the other hand is seen as suggesting that the appointment was more in the nature of a date and that he was annoyed at his friend's not turning up.

Elsewhere a speaker is attempting to persuade his friends to change their college program. He begins with a personalized statement:

56. A: tū aplae kər de YOU SHOULD APPLY. mãi bhī aplae kər dũ. I WILL ALSO APPLY. āi e es next year-mẽ beṭh rəhā hũ I WILL TAKE THE I.A.S. EXAM NEXT YEAR.

Shifting to English he then continues.

A: Tell Rupa that Ashok is next year I.A.S. officer in any case.

The shift from Hindi to English signals that the last sentence reflects a generally known fact and not merely personal opinion. The semantic effect here is quite similar to that illustrated in examples 3[illegible] & 37.

Code switching is thus more than simply a way of contrastively emphasizing part of a message. It does not simply set off a sequence from preceding of following ones. The direction of the shift also carries clear semantic value. The oppositions warning/personal appeal; casual remark/personal feeling; decision based on convenience/decision based on annoyance; personal opinion/generally known fact can be seen as metaphoric extension of the we/they code opposition. What at the societal level are

seen as norms of language usage or symbolic affirmations of ethnic boundaries ar transformed here and built upon in conversation to affect the interpretation of speakers intent and determine effectiveness in communication.

Sociolinguistic norms in this sense are more than just rules that are either obeyed or violated. They are an integral part of the knowledge that a speaker must have to achieve his ends in interpersonal relations.

Perhaps the closest parallel in the recent linguistically oriented work on conversational analysis to our code switching phenomena is found in Searles' discussion of indirect speech acts (1975). Searle is concerned with messages such as 'Do you want the salt?', which have the linguistic form or propositional content of one act, but can carry the elucutionary force of another. His model of interpretation suggests that a listener in such cases notes that the literal meaning does not seem to apply, and then turns his knowledge of felicity conditions which determine the successful enactment of an act as a source for further conversational inferences. Thus in our example the addressee decides the message cannot be interpreted as a question about his ability to perform the act, knowing that to be able to do something is a preparatory condition for fulfilling a request, he concludes that the question may be meant as a request.

Searle goes on to point out that idiomaticity, or expectation about the proper form and mode of enunciation play an important part in the interpretation of speakers intent. Yet the example of indirectness he gives all take the form of inferences based on semantic judgements. What we would like to suggest is that the phenomena we have discussed here are examples of idiomaticity judgements at work. Determination of speakers intent when seen in these terms is always a matter of evaluating both the content and the form of what is said. In monolingual situations optionality at the level of form is in large part a matter of prosody, rythm and voice quality. In code switching situations optionality extends to matters of grammar and phonology and this increase in the range of options carries greater potential in communicating indirect meanings.

To say that code switching is meaningful however does not mean that a switch can be assigned a single interpretation in any one case.

Indirect inferences differ from the processes involved in the communication of simple factual information. What is generated are preferred or possible interpretations, not clear and uncontestable meanings. Judgements of intent are situated, subject to change as additional information becomes available and thus never invariable. The idiomaticity judgements a speaker makes suggest possible lines of interpretation, or favor certain chains of inferences over others. To the extent that the communicative conventions which govern these judegments are learned through socialization into particular networks of relationship and into ethnically specific traditions, a person's ability to interpret what others say and to be effective in communication with them is also a function of his social background.

Conclusion

We have argued that the incidence of code switching in human groups, its persistence over time, its linguistic characteristics and its function in human interaction can best be explained by treating it as a communicative phenomenon, in which speakers build on others' knowledge of alternative grammatically distinct subsystems and of the social assumptions these imply, to generate indirect conversational inferences. If this position is valid, it has a number of important implications, for our understanding of the functioning of human signs in communication, of social symbols in verbal interaction and of the role of speech variation in human groups.

The classic views of linguistic decoding, diverse as they are in detail, all assume a basically undirectional, step by step process of abstraction in which the sound stimuli received are interpreted in turn by phonological, syntactic and semantic rules to arrive at meaning. What grammar does, in other words, is to enable speakers to separate meaningful from non-meaningful verbal signs. Only those aspects of the vocalizations a speaker emits are semantically significant,which can be shown to have a place in the system of rules that make up the grammatical process. If a certain phonetic feature, an intonational contour, or a string of words is subject to formal linguistic analysis it is said to contribute to the interpretation of message content. If not, it is either disregarded as irrelevant or accounted for by other non-linguistic types

of explanation.

In theory, to be sure, it is the goal of modern linguistics to account for all the perceptual distinctions which speakers regard as significant. Yet limitations of currently available elicitation procedures, the difficulties, such as those illustrated in this paper, inherent in finding out what members really believe, as well as the constraints imposed by accepted analytical paradigms, act to limit the range of verbal phenomena that are taken into account. Thus in practice, at least, meaningfulness tends to become associated with a grammatical analyzability. The result is that speech and code alternation, certain apsects of sentence rythm and prosody, as well as speakers reliance on idiomatic or stock phrases in conversation tend to be treated as different in kind from ordinary grammatical phenomena. Their significance in communication is discussed by resorting to analytical concepts such as the notions of sociological variable or social function, which were originally developed in the study of human population aggregates and do not necessarily apply to interaction (Gumperz 1973) or by relying on psychological attitude theory.

The scope of grammars has been extended greatly in recent years and many of the earlier notions regarding the separation of linguistic from non-linguistic phenomena have been abandoned. It has been shown that social presuppositions play an important part in understanding speech. Most important of all the definition of meaning has been broadened from reference to speakers' intent. Yet the basic view of linguistic decoding as a unidirectional progression from sound through syntax to meaning remains. Even the work in conversational analysis which is directly concerned with indirectness in conversation seems to regard indirectness as resulting almost entirely from lexical or grammatical ambiguity inherent in the message. It does not account for semantic phenomena of the type discussed here.

Our analysis suggests that theories of conversational inference will have to be modified to take care of the fact that aspects of sentence form (such as the code in which a sentence is spoken in the case of bilingual speech or its phonetic realization in the case of monolingual styles) can directly affect its interpretation. In other words, such features of surface structure play a role in communication which is equivalent to that of per-

formatives discussed in the recent work on pragmatics, in signalling the illucutionary force of messages. Our models of verbal communication must reflect this fact.

The assumption that at the level of conversational inference linguistic signs serve both to communicate contextual presupposition as well as content, provides a relatively simple explanation. Contextual information in other words is not given, but communicated as part of an interpretation process which has as its input linguistic contextualization cues along with extralinguistic setting, knowledge of participants and related factors. This interpretation process then generates the presuppositions in terms of which speakers decode the details of what is said. In cases of situational usage the role of language in this signalling mechanism is relatively simple. Whenever a code or speech style is regularly associated with a certain class of activities, it comes to signify or connote them, so that its very use can signal the enactment of these activities even in the absence of other clear contextual cues. Component messages are then interpreted in terms of the norms and symbolic associations that apply to the signalled activity.

The case of metaphorical usage is much more complex. The signalling mechanism involved is a shift in contextualization cues, which is not accompanied by a shift in topic and in the other extralinguistic context markers that characterize the situation. This partial violation of cooccurrence expectation then gives rise to the inference that some aspects of the connotations, which elsewhere apply to the activity as a whole, are here to be treated as affecting only the illucutionary force and the quality of the speech act in question. Whereas situational usage relies largely on lexical knowledge, metaphorical usage, as we have shown, requires additional syntactic and conformance to cooccurrence expectations. While this knowledge is grammar-like, it nevertheless differs from what we ordinarily mean by grammatical knowledge in the a) it operates at the context bound level of conversation, b) it is subculturally variable and thus available only to some speakers of the languages in question and c) it generates possible inference rather than explicit and overtly discussable meanings. It is in this sense that it is perhaps best to treat it as sociolinguistic knowledge.

The fact that metaphorical switching presupposes the ability to idnetify code distinctions has important bearing on the discussion concerning Saurrure's well known concepts of 'langue' LANGUAGE and parole "SPEECH". Although there is general agreement about the usefulness of the distinction, what is meant by the two terms, especially by the second langue, continues to be highly controversial. Theoretical linguists tend to see langue as a highly abstract set of rules while other more socially oriented scholars see it in Durkeimian terms as the aggregate or perhaps vector sum of the processes of change in a statistically significant sample of speakers. (Labov 1973)

In both views language is regarded as a separate system, independent of overt individual behavior, at any one time. The study of code switching exchanges leads to the conlusion that members have their own socially defined notions of code or style. Although such notions are often substantially different from those derived through linguistic analysis or taught in standard grammars, it is nevertheless clear that in situations such as we have discussed, effective speaking presupposes sociolinguistically based concepts of system. Speakers rely on these notions to categorize and lump together sets of grammatical rules at various levels of structure, to relate speech to non-linguistic environment and to generate indirect conversational inferences.

Turning finally to the issue of social symbolism. Analysis of code switching exchanges provides evidence for the existence of underlying unverbalized assumptions about social categories, which differ systematically from overtly expressed values or attitudes. It suggests empirical methods for studying the working of such symbols and the role they play in persuasion and rhetorical effectiveness. More detail studies of conversational processes along these lines might provide important new insights into the functioning of broader social concepts in interpersonal relations.

Note

Field work for this paper was supported by National Science Foundation grant No. GS 30546. Arpita Agrawal and Sarah Wikander assisted in the collection of conversational examples. I am grateful to Julian Boyd

Susan Ervin-Tripp, Celia Genishi, Eduardo Hernandez-Chavez and Paul Kay for comments on earlier drafts. Many of the Spanish-English examples derive from an earlier study by Cumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1971).

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SOCIAL NETWORK AND LANGUAGE SHIFT

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This paper reports on an ethnographic study which seeks to provide insights into the social and linguistic causes of language shift by intensive analysis of communication in face-to-face groups. The data were collected over a period of several years in a bilingual Slovenian and German speaking village community by anthropologists and linguists who lived in local homes and participated in everyday work and leisure activites, studying the verbal and non-verbal ettiquette which governs residents' behavior towards kin, friends, colleagues and strangers.

In the initial stages the analysis focused on the grammat and phonetics of local dialects of Slovenian and German, by means of the usual descriptive linguistic elicitation techniques. As in most sociolinguistic studies, special attention was devoted to the isolation of those linguistic features or variables which distinguish successive generations of speakers and which can serve as indices of linguistic change. Conventional sociolinguistic survey studies of linguistic change rely on counts of the incidence of such variables in statistically significant samples of texts, relating them to macro-sociological factors of class, ethnic identity, education on the one hand, and to scalar measures of attitude and prestige on the other. This kind of survey research has convincingly shown that contrary to what earlier linguists had assumed, short term currents of linguistic change can indeed be traced and has provided important insights into the complex ways in which prestige and values affect language usage patterns. Yet what is analyzed are trends or statistical abstractions which sum up what in the everyday life of speakers often appear as conflicting and contradictory types of

verbal behavior. If we are to apply the insights of linguistic analysis to problems of face-to-face communication and education in modern industrial societies, we need more direct evidence on the cognitive processes through which macro-sociological factors affect and constrain the individual's choice among verbal options in everyday small group settings.

The sampling procedures of surveys, moreover, assume that community or group boundaries exist, that they are generally recognized, and can easily be determined. In cases of language shift, where alterations in verbal behavior go hand in hand with radical alterations in values and group identification, such assumptions of stability clearly don't hold. Here notions of group boundaries and ethnic identity and standards of evaluation vary with context, and interview data on social attitudes is of doubtful validity. To make one's analytical premises dependent on a priori assumptions of social stability, therefore, would be begging the question.

The recent work in the ethnography of communication (Frake 1972, 1975; Blom and Gumperz 1972; Sanchez 1975) suggests an alternative way of conceptualizing the role of social factors in language usage, which avoids some of the difficulties inherent in the survey approach and does not rely on any a priori assumptions about group boundaries. Analysis here focuses on the everyday communicative routines of typical speakers and on the conventions which govern their contacts with interlocutors of varying social categories. It seeks to identify key situations, types of settings or "institutions",as Wunderlich has called them, which are empirically distinguishable in terms of behavioral and verbal ettiquette. Conversations recorded in such settings are studied as wholes, the unit of analysis being terms of speaking or sets of interactive exchanges rather than single sentences, to yield data on the processes of conversational inference by which participants evaluate the communicative effectiveness of what is

said. The grammatical and semantic information obtained in the elicitation sessions is one of the factors that enter into this evaluation. Lexically acquired knowledge of idioms, greetings, conversational openings and closing, as well as knowledge of social categories of speakers and audiences and of relevant behavioral norms also play an essential part. By examining the outcomes of conversational exchanges and interviewing participants to determine the perceptions of verbal cues and the social assumptions which underlie their judgements, it is possible to obtain empirical data on the interplay of social and grammatical factors in verbal behavior.

The total set of linguistically distinguishable communicative settings accessible to residents in any one case make up the communicative economy of that area (Hymes 1972). This communicative economy is a direct function of the socio-ecological system in which it is embedded and is directly responsive to changes in that system. In periods of relative stability, communicative situations and patterns of interpersonal contact also remain unchanged. However, when innovations occur, as when the creation of new industry leads to changes in occupational structure and interpersonal relations, or when new transport routes are created, traffic patterns change and locals are brought into contact with new groups of immigrants, or when new political or religious movements create new bonds among individuals who previously had little contact, novel communicative situations arise. In time--often even within a period of less than a decade--the newly created social relations give rise to communicative conventions and standards of their own, which then become the basis for judging the communicative effectiveness of participants.

By comparing such new conventions with those prevailing in older more established situations and examining the networks of relationships by which participants are tied to other residents of the area, we can then

directly study the mechanisms by which socioeconomic changes affect the verbal repertoires of speakers.

The community studied in these terms is located in the Gail Valley in Kärnten, Austria, a few miles from the Yugoslavian and Italian borders, where German and Slovenian have been in contact for more than eight centuries. For most of this period, the Gail Valley was typical of the highly stratified central European peasant societies. Political and economic power was in the hands of a relatively small elite of German speaking church officials and aristocratic absentee landholders, while commerce was controlled by similarly German speaking merchants and craftsmen who lived in small urbanized settlements which had originally grown up around the old aristocratic residences. Slovenian speakers were tenant farmers and laborers, settled in small cluster villages dispersed along the mountain slopes.

On all accounts this tenant population occupied the lowest rung in the social hierarchy. Their land was poor and marginal when compared to that of German farmers in adjoining districts. For many centuries they were bound to the soil and their economic enterprise was constrained by feudal laws which barred their access to craft skills, commerce and education. Even after these laws were repealed, in the nineteenth century, German speakers continued to look down to them as untidy, lacking in ability, initiative and social skills (Gamper 1974).

Yet the outside view of Slovenian villages as untidy, ill-organized settlements of individuals, unable to manage their environment does not agree with the social facts. Seen from inside, each community formed a highly cohesive unit, whose members were related by numerous interlocking kinship ties and who cooperated closely in every sphere of activity. Although each family unit cultivated its own plot, grazing land was held

largely in common, major items of agricultural equipment were shared, and members regularly relied on each other for harvesting, housebuilding, and other essential major tasks. Village social life was punctuated by a regular round of religious and family celebrations in which representatives of all cultivating units participated. Similarly, communal informal gatherings at local inns, singing groups and handicraft circles occupied a major portion of leisure time.

The social world of the average farmer, therefore, was marked by a sharp contrast between village or in-group spheres of activities where a person could find friendship, support and understanding and out-group activities consisting of contacts with non-residents where harshness, hostility, suspicion and at best formality were the rule. Village societies formed typical closed network systems, where the individual's economic, occupational, kinship, friendship and religious relations were all carried out with persons of similar social background and governed by shared communicative conventions. Such overlapping networks lend themselves well to the creation and preservation of uniform norms and conventions since infractions in one sphere of activities are likely to incur sanctions affecting the whole range of local relations. Because the contrast between in and out-group activities, cooperation with ones fellow villagers was not merely a social obligation, but almost a condition of economic survival.

Since the nineteenth century, Kärnten, along with other parts of central Europe, has been exposed to ever increasing currents of change. As a result, farming communities are progressively being incorporated into regional economies and networks of communication. In the Gail Valley, feudal tenancy laws were abolished more than a century ago. Rail networks and modern roads have opened up the hinterland. Compusory education has brought about universal literacy in German. Timber and other small scale

scale industries offer new sources of employment, and there has been considerable immigration of German speakers.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, almost the entire Slovenian speaking population of Kärnten, which among others also included the area south of Klagenfurth and the Draw Valley had become bilingual. Yet while in the latter areas bilingualism soon led to the almost complete disappearance of Slovenian, the Gail Valley has maintained its bilingualism. Even the German occupation during the second World War did not bring about any radical change. During this time all residents of the area were officially declared as of German descent. Use of Slovenian was forbidden and anyone caught speaking the language was subject to deportation. A number of villagers went to labor camps for violating the language law. Yet, our study of local grammar shows that individuals born in the nineteen thirties who grew up during the German occupation do not differ from their elders in knowledge of key grammatical features. While the war decade has brought about a decrease in the total number of Slovenian speakers, it has not affected control of the language as such.

How do we account for the fact that the same social forces which elsewhere in Kärnten led to the disappearance of Slovenian, have merely brought about a condition of stable bilingualism or diglossia in the Gail Valley? Our findings supported by other ethnographic studies in the same area (Brudner 1973; Gamper 1974) suggest that the explanation lies in the fact that social change, until quite recently at least, had not destroyed the local system of overlapping kin, occupational friendship, and religious relationships and that the gap in the quality of in-group and out-group relations had persisted.

To be sure, as elsewhere in Kärnten, the importance of German has increased greatly. Literacy is universal, and although both German and

Slovenian are taught in schools, most villagers read and write only German. Children are in fact encouraged to learn it in school to maximize their opportunities for employment. At the conversational level, moreover, most villagers fluently control the regional dialect of German, and shifts of language in the course of a single conversation are common occurrence. Because of the history of prejudice and discrimination, it is considered impolite or even crude to speak Slovenian in the presence of German speakers, be they foreigners or monolingual German local residents. In fact, so strong is the injunction against speaking Slovenian in mixed company, that tourists can live in the village for weeks without noticing that any language except German is spoken.

The local linguistic repertoire (Gumperz 1969), thus, consists of three varieties, the formal regionally current style of standard Austrian German, the regional colloquial dialect, and the village variety of Slovenian. To interact in accordance with village communicative conventions, a speaker must control all three of these. At the level of sentence grammar, this means knowledge of the relevant phonological, syntactic and semantic rules and of the features which distinguish one variety from the others. At the level of discourse and of the conversational principles which govern judgements of communicative effectiveness in any one situation, other abilities are involved, which are less easy to describe in the abstract. To begin with, these include situational norms, which associate a variety or mode of speaking with particular types of activities. Examples are the preference for Slovenian in family and informal local friendship circles, the prohibition against Slovenian in mixed company, the tendency to use standard German or an approximation thereof for official business. But there is by no means a one-to-one relationship between extralinguistic context and language use. Other more complex metaphoric principles, such as those which

govern the embedding of sentences or phrases of one variety into sequences of another in conversational code-switching (Gumperz 1976), play an important part in everyday talk.

Within the village system such code-switching strategies take on the essential communicative functions of distinguishing new from old information, marking degrees of emphasis or contrastiveness, separating topic from subject (Chafe 1976), or signalling the speaker's position vis-a-vis his message, which in other situations are signalled through syntax or prosody. Their study therefore is particularly useful in producing insights into the functioning of network specific communicative conventions. Some examples taken from our village tapes will illustrate the point. (Slovenian passages are underlined. German passages are not. Each phrase is followed by an English translation in parenthesis.)

1. Mother addressing her child, who knows she is planning a shopping trip to town.

   Du must mitgen (you have to come along) u vlak (to Villach)

The shift to Slovenian here suggests that the destination, Villach, is treated as old information in contrast to the latter part of the message which is new.

2. Mother calling out to a seven year old girl whom she is about to send on an errand.

   peidə (come here) werst mə wɔs briŋn (go and get something for me)

Here the shift to German distinguishes between the initial appeal to come and the substantive request.

3. Mother talking to her small child who has lost something.

   muraš fain paledatə (you'll have to look well) na suəx (go look)

The shift to German here can be seen as a metaphoric extension, which builds on the out-group association of the German dialect to lend a tone seriousness to the repetition.

Villagers who listened to such passages on tape generally agree that if the last sentences had been said in Slovenian, as it very well might have been, it would have had less of a connotation of seriousness.

4. Family talk. Woman reporting on her conversation with a visitor.

...pa yəs prabəm profêsaryə puəšlə sn reakua (and I say to the professor, then I said): und geradɛ hoite həbən si miəsən nɔx fak fuərən (und just today they had to go to Fak)

Here the speaker's shifts to German, is interpreted as a signal that she is quoting what she said to the Professor. The style here is not village German but approximates the standard German, which the speaker probably used in talking to this educated stranger.

5. In the following passage a group of local farmers have come together to discuss the sharing of agricultural equipment. The speaker reports on what he talked about with another farmer, Max, the day before.

Pasluši stei s maksan šua učera təkə reakwa (listen now Max and I said this yesterday)

He shifts to German to quote:

also dɔs sind 250 šiliŋ, fɔlt auf oxte (O.K. that's 250 shilling to be split among 8.)

and then reverts to Slovenian to urge:

tɔtə dənar na zad (that money is not to be returned)

Village judges here confirm that the shift to the in-group variety serves both to set off the latter statement from the preceding quote and lend it the quality of an appeal. The code contrast itself therefore is meaningful.

It seems clear from the above examples that the simple opposition between German and Slovenian grammatical rules does not account for the distinction between village and urban communicative norms. Nor is it enough simply to say that the village repertoire includes three varieties and that speakers alternate among these in different settings. Although the

progressive integration of village society into urban networks has led to an increase in knowledge of both dialect and standard German, the two forms of German have assumed special meanings of their own within the village context. They have become part of network specific pragmatic conventions, where conversational inference is signalled by juxtaposition of codes in context rather than by choice of one over another. We use the term conventions to highlight the fact that what is involved are not rules which must apply throughout, but context dependent interpretive preferences, affecting the quality of interaction. Such preferences are difficult to describe in the abstract and can only be learned in the course of interaction. Yet, to know them is itself a sign of having actively participated in the network.

The fact that these pragmatic conventions are especially frequent in appeals, arguments or heated discussions where speakers seek to persuade or impose their views on others, is indicative of the important role these play in the signalling and reinforcement of local relationships. Inappropriate usage becomes more than simply a violation of linguistic appropriateness norms. It may lead to misunderstanding of intent. Repeated misunderstandings over time, seriously affect a villager's relations with others. They constrain his or her ability to enlist cooperation and ultimately, because of the interconnectedness of local networks, his or her economic success.

On the other hand, if our hypothesis that distinctions or pragmatic conventions are directly related to the structure of interpersonal networks is true, then changes in these networks should also lead to major linguistic change. Our most recent data suggest that this is indeed what is happening. Although the bilingual situation in the village has remained relatively stable for a number of decades, developments during the last few years indicate that the gap between in and out-group relations has

significantly narrowed and that, as a result, Slovenian is now definitely beginning to give way.

Perhaps the major factor in these developments is the rapid growth of tourism and of service industries which are beginning to suburbanize the entire region. New economic opportunities are being created in the neighboring city and small towns as well as in the surrounding villages themselves, which decrease the individual resident's dependence on village socio-economic networks. Whereas formerly persons seeking industrial employment were forced to move out of the village to settle in German speaking communities, the improved road system and the ready availability of motor transport now place several urban centers within easy commuting distances. New suburban homes, housing relatives, are beginning to appear on family land next to farm dwellings, and almost forty-five percent of village families now derive most of their income from non-farming sources. Even those who still farm have embarked on new commercial activities. Almost every home now rents to tourists. Attics and barns have been equipped with modern electric appliances and converted to guest rooms and vacation flats. One farmer has begun to specialize in growing hay for commercial riding stables, leasing formerly unused common grazing land for the purpose. Others have turned to cabinet making. The local general store was turned into a self service mini-supermarket, and a new gasoline station has been opened. The baker now bakes rolls for tourists and shops. Employment in small hotels and shops has become an important source of income for young women. Leisure time activities are also changing. Young men no longer spend most of their evenings gathering in and around local inns with their peers and neighbors, but travel around by car within an area of more than thirty miles in groups, which contraty to previous tradition are beginning to include German speakers and some non-locals.

It is important to note that all these changes in the pattern of everyday activities do more than just increase the volume or amount of contact between the bilingual and the monolingual populations. They have also brought about radical shifts in the quality of interaction. In entering the urbanized service economy, villagers become small time entrepreneurs, whose success depends more and more on their urban ties and less and less on day-to-day cooperation with village neighbors and kin. An increasing proportion of their energies is devoted to making friends with convincing and persuading listeners who do not share their family and ethnic history. Effectiveness in these new situations is judged in terms of the rhetorical standards of the monolingual urban society. To this end control of German is not enough, additional skills of stylistic manipulation are involved which differ from the in-village reliance on metaphors based on the German-Slovenian contrast and new skills of style.

The first linguistic evidence for the impending change comes from observations of the language usage of a group of teenagers. It seemed, on the basis of observation of family interaction, that the individuals involved still have perfect control of Slovenian. Their everyday syntax and morphology and their control of the complex phonology and of the tonal system is indistinguishable from their elders. They tell stories and are otherwise quite fluent in conversation, so much so that they served as language informants during the initial grammatical elicitation stage. Yet after some period of regular association it became apparent that contrary to their elders, who tended to lapse into Slovenian or code-switching styles in most private settings, they used German exclusively when talking to their own agemates, even the relatively personal talk on the local dance floors was in German.

More direct linguistic insight into the grammatical signs of change

comes from linguistic elicitation sessions. Here the teenagers were unable to cite dual verb endings, although they had no difficulty with the dual plural distinction with nouns. In recorded conversation plural endings were regularly substituted for the dual, as in the following examples:

vɔn prîsua kə S papûnə pa voma muu srívalə.

I will go to S in the afternoon and we will write a little.

Here voma the plural is used instead of vɔwa the dual. Older residents who listened to the tape readily identified this as an error.

In the following dialogue the plural occurs both in the question and in the reply.

A. mpa koi stə vi niɔ dêualə

and what did you two work today

B. mi sma niɔ šribalə

We two wrote today

In A stə vi (plural) replaces sta vi (dual). In B sma (plural) occurs instead of a sua (dual). We found no instance of this in the speech of thirty and forty year olds.

Morphological distinctions are also beginning to be lost in the oblique plural of nouns with genetive, dative and locative case endings. Here teenagers are aware that distinctions exist and can cite some examples, but do not know which ending marks which case. In one elicitation session a girl, when asked to translate the sentence "mit den Männern gehter" (he goes with the men), produced

an gre z možan

(he goes with the man)

and commented 'it looks as if there was only one man but there are more'. When asked can you say 'au grɛ z mózamə' (dative plural ending), she replied 'that is possible too'. In a spontaneous conversation a girl said

sən pr totlan športlaŕə sadewa

I sat near those athletes.

her mother corrected, giving the right ending

pr totlax športlariat (loc plural).

Another young girl who heard the first girl's tape substituted, Športlarian (using the dat plural ending) which is also wrong. Only in stock expressions which are frequently found in the plural such as vlikə trúək 'many children' do the right endings occur. The older generation never make such errors.

All the above changes affect the nominal system and apart from numbers, the items involved are infrequent in casual chat. However, they do occur in task oriented work situations where object specificity is important and in mental calculations. Their loss suggests that teenagers have begun to work and think entirely in German and that adults have begun to accommodate them in this. Our ethnographic observations confirm this fact.

Analysis of small children's speech provides further documentation of the ongoing language shift. A group of these children from Slovenian speaking families, in the five to twelve age range, already control key standard and village German variables. They understand short sentences when addressed in Slovenian, but respond in German. Their productive control of the language is limited to just a few stock phrases. Several young children used German phonology in citing Slovenian words such as čompɛ (potatoes) with a final /ɛ/ instead of the Slovenian /ə/. Others, however, corrected them. Clearly village German is the first language for these children and standard German the second. They do learn some Slovenian through contacts with adults, but the language no longer plays an important part in their repertoire.

The linguistic pressures that the urban norms exert on local speech

can be studied more directly through analysis of local styles of German. To this end a series of passages were extracted from tapes of the normal, unguarded speech of village residents. Urban judges were a) asked to guess speakers' ethnic origin from the tapes and b) questioned in some detail about the cues they perceived in making these judgements. The individuals so judged fall into three groups: group one consists of a local German monolingual women of about 40, whose parents were German speaking but were related to local Slovenian families, and her 17 year old son, who grew up in the village but is now studying in the city high school. When at home the son associates with the village young men's peer group. Group two consists of two twenty year old girls and their fiancees. The girls are from Slovenian speaking farming families and have lived in the village all their lives. Their fiancees, come from a neighboring Slovenian speaking village but are German monolinguals themselves..

While the woman in group one is the widow of a teacher and her son is preparing for a professional career, the young people in group two have only an elementary school education and are employed in urban service occupations. Group three includes four women from Slovenian speaking farming families, and two of their husbands, one a local farmer who is also employed as a construction worker with a government conservation agency, the other a railroad engineer. The father of the two men who are brothers was a German speaking railroad worker who had settled in the village, their mother comes from a local Slovenian farming family. Both have been part of the local network all their lives and their Slovenian is indistinguishable from that of their peers.

Urban judges immediately and reliably identified group one as German monolinguals and group three as bilinguals. With the younger people in group two, judgements were mixed and less reliable. At times the same

speaker was categorized as Slovenian on one occasion and as German on another, and judges were unable to distinguish between the bilingual women and the monolingual men. The judge's listing of relevant cues when compared with our linguistic analytsis of speakers German reveals the basis for their judgements.

Only with group three speakers, were a significant portion of cues related to what might be called interference from Slovenian. The oldest of the women, aged 45, who has had the least close contact with German speaking outsiders, showed considerable confusion in the use of masculine, feminine and neuter articles noun plurals. Her subject final word order in sentences such as daneben ist gestanden ihre Freundin (next to her stood her friend) was also noted. The other women showed some of these features but less frequently, while the men have normal German morphology and word order.

All other features listed as markers of Slovenian are part of the internal German system of Standard-dialect variables. Among the most salient of these is the contrast between tongue tip trilled or flapped [r] and the uvular [R] is an areal feature of pronunciation unrelated to Slovenian which has long been a marker of rural urban distinctions in Southern France, Southern Germany and Austria.

In the urban areas of Kärnten it has completely replaced the older tongue tip articulation. Group one speakers follow the urban norm. Of the group two speakers, the women show some signs of beginning change in post vocalic word final position only. The men have occasional uvular articulations in word initial prevocalic position. But for the most part group two still preserves the tongue tip articulation.

A second major characteristic of group three speech was a type of usage which judges referred to as "an odd mixture of 'schiftsprache' (literary) terms with dialect terms". Here are some examples:

1. Wir hɔbm ainɛ kacɛ gehɔpt, ainɛ ganɛ suarcɛ kɔc
   (We had a cat, a very black cat.)
2. unt hɔt si a das pestɛ gegriegt, di kɔc yɔ
   (And she sure got the best, the cat yes)
3. dʌr puə hɔt so grant dɛr andi
   (the boy cried so, our Andi)
   dɛr hɔt so geprült unt so gəraint
   (he yelled so and cried)

Of the underlined forms: the noun kɔc (cat), the filler yɔ (yes) and the past participles grant (cried) are typical of the dialect, whereas the kacɛ (cat) the past participles, gehɔpt (had), gegriegt (received), geprult (yelled), gəraint (cried) are more standard like. For urban speakers the latter recall a formal reading style and are not used in colloquial talk. The villagers' usage is seen as awkward, a sign of imperfect learning.

Note, however, that what is involved in the above example is not so much variation in individual words, but a contrast between phrases marked by a series of co-occurring standard variants with phrases marked by dialect variants. The practice seems quite similar to the code switching among Slovenian and German discussed above. Note that in each case one of a pair of phrases comments on or qualifies information introduced in the other. Although the language is German, the basic village communicative strategy, which relies on contrasts between phrases marked by distinctions in surface form, to generate conversational inferences is maintained. All group three speakers have this characteristic.

A final feature of group three speech, which is not mentioned by judges but is nevertheless quite apparent has to do with prosody, sentence rhythm and vowel quality and is perhaps best illustrated by the following examples contrasting group (1a,?a) three and group one and two (1b,2b) speech:

1a. dɔ 'karli' is 'tsum "spin (Karli went to Spin)

1b. dɘ 'karlI Is tsum "spIn

2a. 'di 'kɔc 'is in̈gɔʌtu'gsɛ·sn (The cat sat in the garden)

2b. di 'kɔc isɛn "gɔʌtn'gsɛsn

Group three articulations are phonetically close to Slovenian and show even slow rhythm in which each word except the article carries some stress. High and mid-vowels are tense relatively high and long especially with high stress. Group two and group one have faster tempo, stress on information carrying nouns and verbs, some contraction and vowel reduction in unstressed position and relatively lower less tense vowels.

The Slovenian markers which judges cite for group three include an occasional tongue tip [r] articulation in consonant clusters after stops. Elsewhere uvular [R] regularly prevails. In addition, one judge mentions the lack of aspiration in contracted past participle forms such as kɔpt ((had) standard German gehabt). This again is a local German dialect characteristic unrelated to Slovenian. In all other respects group two speech is indistinguishable from group one speech.

It is evident that influence of Slovenian grammar plays much less of a role in ethnic categorization than one might imagine on the basis of local attitudes. Only the middle generation women showed clear signs of grammatical interference and even the extent varies with age and the amount of contact with outsiders. The fact that the most salient evaluative cues are those which mark the village-urban distinction in monolingual regions also confirms our hypothesis that Slovenian to German language shift is part of a general trend of integration of village culture into urban and suburban networks.

It is important to note that the two features which most categorically distinguish the younger generation are sentence or discourse level

phenomena. The hypothesis suggest itself that they are related. The greater the amount of code switching, the greater the amount of phonetic overlap between the two contrasting codes. Thus, code-switching, the very practice that marks the distinctiveness of the village communicative system also serves to maintain the distinctness of village talk.

Like the younger generation speakers, the two men in group two are engaged in urban occupations and interact regularly with monolinguals at work. Their control of German grammar is near native. But to remain part of the local network of relationship they have had to conform to local pragmatic conventions of which code switching is an integral part. When, because of change in occupational structures and norms of evaluation, young speakers no longer see themselves as socially distinct from monolinguals, communicative conventions which build on this distinctness also change and pronunciation differences disappear.

Conclusion

The goal of this paper is to explore alternatives to established sociolinguistic approaches to the analysis of language shift which account for the intuitively obvious fact that language shift reflects basic changes in the structure of interpersonal relations rather than mere alterations in the extralinguistic environment. We have suggested that the linguistic factors involved here are best studied at the discourse level in terms of cues which members use to signal the non-objective content of messages and evaluate the importance of what is said. When seen in this perspective, what have previously been called surface factors of language, such as pronunciation and prosody or code-switching, can be seen not only to have important signalling and evaluative functions but also affect the maintenance or loss of grammatical distinctions.

Our findings are tentative rather than definitive but, if supported by further work they have important implications for our understanding of informal language learning processes in modern industrial societies. They suggest that learning, to be effective in everyday communication on the part of culturally and linguistically distinct in-migrants, is both a function of actual exposure to the new language and of the networks of associations that speakers form in the new setting. If in-migrants settle in closed groups, if their informal relations at home and at work exclude others of different communicative background, then learning a new language will not necessarily eliminate the linguistic distinctness of the group. New group specific pragmatic conventions will arise, which will continue to affect the in-migrants system of meaning and therefore their relations with others.

Note: Field research for this paper was supported by National Science Foundation Grant SOC74-19288 and National Institute of Mental Health Grant MH26831. The data on village speech was collected, in large part, by Sarah Wickander. I am grateful for her assistance in discussing some of the issues raised here, although she does not necessarily agree with my interpretation.

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